

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

GEN

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01768 7366

GENEALOGY

973.005

AM3513



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012

<http://archive.org/details/americancolonial00roch>

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

MAY—APRIL

1897-98

VOLUME
ONE

MDCCCXCVII—VIII

Published by
GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER

182142

F 703465

CONTENTS OF VOLUME ONE

- A** Discourse Concerning the Designed Establishment of a New Colony to the South of Carolina, in the Most Delightful Country of the Universe, by Sir Robert Mountgomry, Baronet. London: Printed in the year 1717. No. 1, May.
- A** Brief Account of the Establishment of the Colony of Georgia, under General James Oglethorpe, February 1, 1733. No. 2, June.
- A** State of the Province of Georgia, Attested upon Oath, in the Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740. London: Printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill, MDCCXLII. No. 3, July.
- A** True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia, in America, from the first settlement thereof until this period; containing the most authentic facts, matters, and transactions therein; together with his Majesty's charter, representations of the people, letters, etc.; and a Dedication to his Excellency General Oglethorpe.—By Pat. Tailfer, M. D., Hugh Anderson, M. D., Da. Douglas, and others, Landholders in Georgia, at present in Charles-town, in South Carolina. Charles-town, South Carolina: Printed by P. Timothy, for the Authors, 1741. No. 4, August.
- A** N Account Showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, in America, from its First Establishment. Published per Order of the Honorable the Trustees. London: Printed in the year MDCCXLI. Maryland: Reprinted and sold by Jonas Green, at his Printing Office, in Annapolis, 1742. No. 5, September.
- N**OVA Britannia: Offering most excellent fruits by planting in Virginia; exciting all such as be well affected to further the same. London: Printed for Samuel Macham, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Church-yard, at the sign of the Bul-head, 1609. No. 6, October.

CONTENTS

No. 7,
November.

THE New Life of Virginia: Declaring the former success and present estate of that plantation, being the second part of Nova Britannia. Published by authority of his Majesty's Council of Virginia. London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, for William Welby, dwelling at the sign of the Swan, in Paul's Church-yard, 1612.

No. 8,
December.

THE Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, in the years 1675 and 1676.

No. 9,
January.

AN Account of our Late Troubles in Virginia, written in 1676, by Mrs. An. Cotton of Q. Creek. Published from the original manuscript, in the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, of 12 September, 1804.

A List of Those that have been Executed for the Late Rebellion in Virginia, by Sir William Berkeley, Governor of the Colony. Copied from the original manuscript (Harleian collection, codex 6845, page 54), in the library of the British Museum, London, by Robert Greenhow, Esq., of Virginia.

No. 10,
February.

A Narrative of the Indian and Civil Wars in Virginia, in the years 1675 and 1676. Published from the original manuscript, in the first volume (second series) of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston: Printed by John Eliot, No. 5 Court street, 1814.

No. 11,
March.

NEW England's Plantation: or, a short and true description of the commodities and discommodities of that country. Written by a reverend Divine now there resident. London: Printed by T. C. and R. C. for Michael Sparke, dwelling at the sign of the Blue Bible in Greene Arbor in the little Old Bailey, 1630.

No. 12,
April.

A Petition of W. C. Exhibited to the High Court of Parliament, now assembled, for the Propagating of the Gospel in America and the West Indies, and for the settling of our Plantations there; which Petition is approved by seventy able English Divines, also by Master Alexander Henderson and some other worthy Ministers of Scotland. Printed in the year 1641.

INDEX

- Abercorn, Ga., iv, 81.
 Adams, Benjamin, iv, 46.
 Alatomaha river, ii, 3, 5, 6.
 Amory, John, iv, 47.
 Anderson, Hugh, iv, 46, 84.
 Anderson, James, iv, 46.
 Andrews, Thomas, iv, 47.
 Ashley, M., i, 6.
 Augusta, Ga., iii, 3, 4, 6; iv, 86.
 Augustine, Walter, iv, 82.
 Azilia, Margravate of, i, 5, 6, 10, 16.
 Bacon's Rebellion, viii, ix, x.
 Bacon, Nathaniel, viii, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22; ix, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12; advances against the Indians, x, 10; proclaimed a rebel, x, 11, 12; governor refuses him a commission, x, 13; returns to town at the head of five hundred men and forces a commission, x, 13; proclaimed a traitor, x, 15, 21; blocks the governor up in town, x, 25, 28, 29; his death, x, 30; his epitaph, x, 32.
 Bacon, Colonel Nathaniel, viii, 10, 11.
 Baillie, Thomas, iv, 46, 47, 66, 73.
 Bailow, James, iv, 46.
 Bailow, Peter, iv, 46.
 Ball, Benjamin, iv, 57.
 Bathurst, Sir Francis, iv, 82.
 Beaufort-town, ii, 9.
 Becon, Giles, iv, 47.
 Berkeley, Sir William, viii, 4, 7; ix, 4, 5, 6, 10; x, 11, 18, 21, 22, 23, 28, 38.
 Bertie, James, i, 6.
 Bland, Giles, x, 21.
 Boltzius, Reverend Mr., iii, 18, 19; iv, 47.
 Bradley, William, iv, 84.
 Brent, Captain, viii, 2, 3, 6; ix, 9; x, 28, 20.
 Bristew, Major, x, 44.
 Britain, Charles, iv, 46.
 Brodie, John, iv, 81.
 Brooks, Francis, iv, 47.
 Brownfield, John, iv, 46.
 Bull, Colonel, ii, 10.
 Bulloch, Mr., ii, 14.
 Bunckle, George, iv, 46.
 Burnside, James, iv, 47.
 Burton, John, iv, 46.
 Bush, Edward, iv, 46.
 Calvert, William, iv, 46.
 Cardross, Lord, i, 3.
 Carolina, colony of. Motives and foundation of the undertaking, i, 4; copy of grant for the founding of, i, 5; description of the country, i, 7; of the form proposed in settling, i, 8; of some designs in view for making profit, i, 13; proposals to settlers, i, 15-18; articles of incorporation, i, 18-21.
 Carpenter, Lord, ii, 3.
 Carter, William, iv, 46.
 Cartaret, Sir George, i, 6.
 Carver, Captain, viii, 15, 17, 18, 19; ix, 14; x, 21, 22, 37.
 Carwells, James, iv, 46.
 Causton, Thomas, iv, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40.
 Chainsae, James, iv, 46.
 Charleston, i, 18; ii, 7, 8, 11, 13; iii, 6.
 Cheisman, Major Edward, x, 36, 37.
 Cherokees, iv, 74.
 Christie, Thomas, iv, 40, 46, 59, 60, 84.
 Clark, John, iv, 47.
 Cochrane, Colonel, iv, 80.
 Cole, Mr., x, 30.
 Colleton, Sir John, i, 6.
 Coltbred, William, iv, 47.
 Cooksey, Mr., iv, 82.
 Corneck, James, iv, 47.
 Cowetas, chief town of the Creek Indians, iii, 6.
 Cross, Thomas, iv, 47.
 Dale, Sir Thomas, vii, 6.
 Darien, iii, 8; iv, 30, 48, 74, 75, 80.
 Davis, Richard, iv, 47.

INDEX

Dean, James, iv, 47.
 Delabarr, Mr., ii, 9.
 DeLeon, Abraham, iv, 30.
 Desborough, John, iv, 47.
 Dormer, James, iv, 46.
 Douglass, David, iv, 46, 66, 73.
 Drew, Captain, x, 41, 50.
 Drummond, William, x, 24, 50.
 Duchee, Andrew, iv, 47.
 Dudding, John, iv, 47.
 Dunbar, Lieutenant George, iii, 16; iv, 48.

Ebenezer, town of, iii, 5; iv, 47, 75.
 Elbert, William, iv, 46.
 Emry, Peter, iv, 46.
 Euchee town, iii, 5.
 Ewen, William, iv, 47.

Fallowfield, John, iv, 46, 59, 83.
 Farlow, Captain, x, 37, 38.
 Farrill, Hubert, x, 45.
 Farrington, Ensign, ii, 9.
 Fitzwater, Joseph, iv, 46.
 Florida, i, 7; iv, 73.
 Fort Argyle, iv, 83.
 Fort St. Andrews, iv, 81.
 Fort William, iii, 8.
 Foster, Elisha, iv, 46.
 Fox, Walter, iv, 46.
 Frazer, Hugh, iv, 46.
 Frederica, town of, iii, 8, 10; iv, 30, 41, 48, 65, 74, 75, 80.

Gaff, William, iv, 33.
 Gallway, James, iv, 47.
 Gantlet, Thomas, iv, 47.
 Gascoign, Captain, iv, 30.
 Gates, Sir Thomas, vii, 7.
 Gender, David, iv, 46.
 Georgia, colony of. Proceedings of the trustees at their first regular meeting, 1732, ii, 3; extracts from the charter, ii, 4; some account of the designs of the trustees in establishing the colony, ii, 4; account of progress of first colony sent, ii, 8; Indian tribes in, iii, 3, 5-7; staples of the country, iii, 10; erected into a separate province, iv, 2; charter of, iv, 2; trustees, iv, 3; grievances set forth, iv, 20; answer of the trustees to the inhabitants of Savannah, 1738, iv, 57; resolution of the trustees relating to

grants and tenure of land, iv, 60; description of, iv, 75; trustees induced to prohibit the use of negroes, v, 9; journal of the trustees from 1733 to 1741, v, 16-37.
 Gilbert, Robert, iv, 27, 46.
 Glen, Archibald, iv, 46.
 Gordon, Mr., iv, 26.
 Gorsand, Mr., iv, 47.
 Gouge, Colonel, x, 30.
 Grahame, John, iv, 46.
 Grahame, Patrick, iv, 46.
 Grant, Andrew, iv, 46, 66.
 Grantham, Captain, x, 47, 48.
 Green, Henry, iv, 46.
 Greenfield, Christopher, iv, 46.
 Greenfield, William, iv, 46.

Hampstead, iii, 7; iv, 83.
 Hanks, Robert, iv, 86.
 Hansford, Colonel Thomas, x, 35, 36.
 Heathcote, Sir Gilbert, ii, 3.
 Herbert, Rev. Dr., ii, 9.
 Highgate, iii, 7; iv, 82.
 Holms, Samuel, iv, 46.
 Horton, Lieutenant, iii, 8; iv, 80.
 Houston, James, iv, 46, 83.
 Howard, Mr., x, 40.
 Hows, Robert, iv, 46.

Indians. General Oglethorpe's conference with, ii, 11; names of the tribes in Georgia, ii, 11; country claimed by them, ii, 11; narrative of the Indian and Civil wars in Virginia, x; cruelties of, x, 7; Bacon meets with them, x, 11; in New England, xi, 13.
 Ingram, Esquire, x, 34, 43, 47.
 Irene, iv, 82.

Jamestown, vii, 7; x, 26.
 Jekyll island, iii, 8.
 Jekyll sound, iii, 8, 10.
 Jenkins, Edward, iv, 46.
 John's island, ii, 9.
 Johnson, Governor Robert, ii, 10.
 Jones, Noble, iv, 83.
 Jones, Rev. Mr., ii, 9.
 Jones, Thomas, iii, 17; iv, 40, 59, 60.
 Josephstown, iv, 82.
 Joubart, Peter, iv, 46.

Kelly, John, iv, 47.
 Kennedy, David, i, 16.

INDEX

- Lacy, Roger, iv, 86.
 Lacy, Samuel, iv, 46.
 Landry, James, iv, 46.
 Lawrence, Richard, x, 24, 50.
 Loyd, Henry, iv, 47.
 Loyer, Adam, iv, 46.
 Lyndall, John, iv, 46.
- Macpherson, Captain James, iv, 83.
 Manley, Henry, iv, 46.
 Marraud, Stephen, iv, 46.
 Martyn, Benjamin, iv, 59, 65, 67, 70.
 Mason, Colonel George, viii, 2, 3, 6, 13.
 Mathew, Jacob, iv, 82.
 McIntosh, Benjamin, iv, 48.
 McIntosh, John More, iv, 48.
 Meers, William, iv, 46.
 Mellechamp, Richard, iv, 46.
 Mercer, Samuel, iv, 46.
 Miller, John, iv, 47.
 Mountgomry, Sir Robert, i, 4, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 28.
 Moore's fort, iii, 5.
 Moore, Francis, iii, 16.
 Morelle, Pierre, iv, 46.
 Moulton, Henry, iv, 46.
 Mounfoord, Stephen, iv, 46.
 Mount Pleasant, iii, 5.
 Muer, James, iv, 46.
 Musa fort, iv, 73.
 Musgrove, John, ii, 12.
- Neal, Thomas, iv, 46.
 New Ebenezer, iv, 81.
 New England. A short and true description of the commodities and discommodities of that country, xi, 5-15; of the air of, with the temper and creatures in it, xi, 10; of the waters of, with the things belonging to the same, xi, 8.
 New Kent, x, 51.
 New Windsor, iii, 5; iv, 31.
 New Yamacra, iv, 82.
- Odingsell, Mr., iv, 28.
 Ogeechee river, iv, 67.
 Ogleshorpe, General James, ii, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14-16; iv, 22, 30, 32, 37, 39, 40, 41, 47, 49, 59, 65, 66, 70, 72, 73, 78.
 Ormiston, Thomas, iv, 46.
 Ossiba island, iv, 78.
 Oxstead, iv, 84.
- Palachocolas fort, iii, 5.
 Papot, James, iv, 46.
 Parker, Henry, iv, 37, 46, 59, 83.
 Parker, Samuel, iv, 46.
 Parker, William, iv, 46.
 Pate, Major, x, 42.
 Pennsylvania, ii, 7.
 Penrose, John, iv, 46.
 Percival, Lord, ii, 3.
 Port Royal, ii, 7, 9.
 Port Royal river, i, 3.
 Potash, how made, i, 13, 14.
 Purysburgh, iii, 5.
 Py, John, iv, 87.
- Queen of Pamunky, viii, 8, 9.
- Rae, John, iv, 46.
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, i, 27; vi, 7.
 Reade, Colonel, x, 35.
 Rieuwere, Simon, iv, 46.
 Rogers, Richard, iv, 47.
 Rush, George, iv, 47.
- St. Andrew's fort, iii, 8; iv, 30.
 St. Augustine, iii, 9, 14; iv, 65, 72, 73, 80.
 St. John's island, iii, 9.
 St. Julian, James, ii, 14.
 St. Katherine's island, iv, 75.
 St. Simon's island, iii, 8; iv, 30, 80.
 Salem, xi, 14.
 Sallie, John, iv, 46.
 Salter, Thomas, iv, 46.
 Saltzburghers, iii, 10; iv, 47, 75.
 Savannah, iii, 3, 9; iv, 23, 31, 32, 35, 38, 47, 48, 78, 80.
 Scott, Mr., ii, 14.
 Scot's colony, settling of a, in America, i, 3.
 Scot's Highlanders, the settlement of, at Darien, iv, 80.
 Searsbrooke, Colonel, x, 23.
 Silver Bluff, iii, 5.
 Skiddoway island, iv, 83.
 Smith, James, iv, 46.
 Smith, John, iv, 46.
 Smith, Major Lawrence, x, 41.
 Snook, David, iv, 46.
 Stamon, Lewis, iv, 46.
 Stanley, Joseph, iv, 47.
 Starflicht, iv, 46.
 Stephens, William, iv, 40, 60, 85.
 Sterling, Hugh, iv, 25.
 Sterling, William, iv, 47, 66, 73.
 Stewart, Donald, iv., 47.

INDEX

- Tailfer, Patrick, iv, 46, 82.
 Tarrier, Stephen, iv, 46.
 Teasdale, John, iv, 47.
 Tector, Peter, iv, 46.
 Thorp, Captain, x, 23.
 Thunderbolt, iv, 83.
 Tibbett, Thomas, iv, 47.
 Townsend, Edward, iv, 47.
 Trench island, ii, 9.
 Trip, Thomas, iv, 46.
 Turner, Richard, iv, 33.
 Tybee, island of, iii, 7, 10; iv, 78, 83.
 Vernon river, iv, 78, 83.
 Virginia, first attempt at settling an English plantation in, i, 27; under what difficulties planted, ii, 7; first discovery and actual taking possession of vi, 6; above an hundred transported there in 1587, vi, 7; actual possession taken in the name of Queen Elizabeth, 1584, vi, 7; power and authority assigned to Walter Raleigh to plant forces and colonies there, vi, 7; the natural seat and disposition of the country described, vi, 9; Sir Thomas Dale arrives at the colony, 1611, vii, 6; Bacon's rebellion, viii, ix, x.
 Wading, Mr., x, 30.
 Walker, Andrew, iv, 47.
 Ward, Samuel, iv, 46.
 Wardrobe, Joseph, iv, 46.
 Warner, Colonel Augustine, x, 29.
 Washington, Colonel John, ix, 3.
 Watson, Captain Joseph, iv, 27, 82.
 Watts, Jacob, iv, 46.
 Wattle, Thomas, iv, 47.
 Wesley John, iv, 32, 34, 35, 39, 82.
 West Point, x, 41, 48, 49.
 Whiggan, Mr., Indian interpreter, ii, 11, 12.
 Wilford, Captain, x, 36.
 Williams, James, iv, 46.
 Williams, Robert, iv, 46, 57, 82.
 Williamson, William, iv, 34, 59, 84.
 Wilmington island, iv, 67.
 Woodroffe, William, iv, 46.
 Young, Isaac, iv, 46.
 Young, John, iv, 46.
 Young, Thomas, iv, 46.
 Ziegenhagen, Rev. Frederick, iii, 17.

GEORGE P. ALPHREY

F 22.1.03

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER ONE

MAY 1897

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE
DESIGNED ESTABLISHMENT OF
A NEW COLONY TO THE SOUTH OF
CAROLINA, IN THE MOST DELIGHT-
FUL COUNTRY OF THE UNIVERSE,
BY SIR ROBERT MOUNTGOMRY,
BARONET, LONDON, 1717.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by
GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller; or send direct to the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y. The number for June will contain "A Brief Account of the Establishment of the Colony of Georgia, under General James Oglethorpe, February 1st, 1733."

74555

A DISCOURSE
CONCERNING
THE DESIGN'D ESTABLISHMENT
OF A
NEW COLONY
TO THE
SOUTH OF CAROLINA

IN
The Most Delightful Country of the Universe.

By
SIR. ROBERT MOUNTGOMRY, BARONET.

LONDON: Printed in the Year 1717.

COLONIAL TRACTS

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
OF LONDON

By SIR ROBERT MURPHY SMITH

No 1

MAY 1897

COLONIAL TRACTS

Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

VOL I COLONIAL TRACTS NO I

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE DESIGN'D
ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW COLONY TO
THE SOUTH OF CAROLINA, IN THE MOST
DELIGHTFUL COUNTRY OF THE UNIVERSE

By SIR ROBERT MONTGOMRY BARONET

IT will perhaps afford some satisfaction to the gentlemen of Carolina to know that my design arises not from any sudden motive, but a strong bent of genius I inherit from my ancestors, one of whom was among those knights of Nova Scotia purposely created near a hundred years ago for settling a Scots' colony in America; but the conquest of that country by the French prevented his design, and so it lies on his posterity to make good his intentions for the service of their country.

The humor, however, descended, and ran down with the blood; for my father was so far of this opinion, that together with Lord Cardross, the late earl of Buchan, and some other gentlemen, he entered into measures for establishing a settlement on Port Royal river, in South Carolina, and Lord Cardross went thither in person; but the Spaniards dislodged them and destroyed the plantation, advantage being taken of some confusions which arose through the want of full powers and distinct jurisdiction.

The charming descriptions, which on this last occasion I met with, of the natural sweetness and beauties of Carolina, inspired me with an early affection to that place, in particular. But the wars intervening and calling for my sword in the more immediate service of my country, gave me no opportunity to put in practice certain schemes which occurred, effectually forming a settlement there till just now, when, together with

some of my friends, who unite their endeavors with mine, I am like, by continuance of the Indian disturbances, to enjoy my own wish with the additional pleasure of being useful to the province.

Though our design does not altogether depend on the subscription of purchasers, herein proposed, yet our own stock so increased will be made more effectual, and we shall give at the same time an opportunity to many of sharing in our benefits, who could not be otherwise concerned in the undertaking.

If, therefore, the offer which we make shall meet with encouragement, it will, by dividing our burthen, somewhat lighten it; if it fails, it will no further disappoint us than as it leaves us to do that alone which might better be done with the expected assistance.

R. MOUNTGOMRY.

OF THE MOTIVES AND FOUNDATION OF THE UNDERTAKING.

PLANTATIONS of new countries, says the great Lord Bacon, are among the primitive and most heroic works of man. They are meritorious in a double sense—religiously, as they illuminate the souls of heathens through the darkness of their ignorance; and politically, as they strengthen the dominion which sends out the colony, and wonderfully more than any other means enrich the undertakers.

But as such attempts are great, so also are they dangerous. One early caution easily secures their future benefits; one little error in foundation overthrows the building. It is to a defect in setting out that all our noble colonies upon the Western Continent have owed their disappointments; to a want of due precaution in their forms of settling, or rather, to their settling without any form at all. The planters grasped at an undue extent of land, exceeding their capacity to manage or defend. This scattered them to distances unsafe and solitary, so that living in a wilderness, incapable of mutual aid, the necessary artisans found no encouragement to dwell among them; their woods remained uncleared, their fens undrained; the air by that means proved unhealthy, and the roads impassable. For want of towns and places of defence, they suddenly became a prey to all invaders, even the formidable Indians took advan-

tage of the oversight, and Carolina is, at present, groaning under a most bloody persecution from a wild and despicable kind of enemy who had not dared to think of the attempt, but from an observation daily made, how open and unguarded they might take the English.

From these examples and the neighborhood of the intended settlement to Carolina thus distressed, our future Eden, made early wise by dangers, which she feels not, would not only fix her foot upon a firm foundation so as to resist a storm herself, but she would also spread her wings to a capacity of shadowing others. A British colony should, like the Roman, carry with it always something of the mother's glory.

Excited, therefore, by an earnest inclination to establish such a settlement as may, by new means, yield new benefits as well in wealth as safety, and resolving to proceed upon a scheme entirely different from any hitherto attempted, and which appears to promise great and inexpressible advantages, the grant on which we found the undertaking, will be seen in the following abstract :

“THE underwritten palatine and lords proprietors of the
 “province of Carolina, do, on the considerations herein-
 “after mentioned, grant, sell, alien, release, and confirm to
 “Sir Robert Mountgomry, Baronet, his heirs and assigns for-
 “ever, all that tract of land which lies between the rivers
 “Allatamaha and Savanna, together with the islands, ports,
 “harbors, bays, and rivers on that part of the coast which lies
 “between the mouths of the said two rivers to the seaward ;
 “and moreover all veins, mines, and quarries of gold and silver,
 “and all other whatever, be they of stones, metals, or any
 “other things found, or to be found, within that tract of land,
 “and the limits aforesaid ; with liberty over and above to
 “make settlements on the south side of Allatamaha river, which
 “tract of land the said underwritten lords do erect into a distinct
 “province, with proper jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives,
 “and franchises, independent of, and not subject to the laws
 “of South Carolina, to be holden of the said lords by Sir Robert,
 “his heirs and assigns forever, under the name and title of the
 “Margravate of Azilia ; at and under the yearly quitrent of
 “one penny sterling per acre, or its value in goods or merchan-

"dise, as the land shall be occupied, taken up, or run out ;
 "payable yearly to the lords proprietors' officers at Charles-
 "Town, but such payment not to commence till three years
 "after arrival of the first ships there, which shall be sent over
 "to begin the settlement ; over and above which penny per
 "acre Sir Robert, his heirs and assigns shall also yield and pay
 "to the lords proprietors one fourth part of all gold or silver
 "ore besides the quota reserved to the crown out of the said
 "royal minerals ; distinct courts of judicature to be erected
 "and such laws enacted within the Margravate by and with
 "the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen thereof in
 "publick assembly as shall be most conducive to the utility of
 "the said Margravate, and as near as may be conveniently
 "agreeable to the laws and customs of England, but so as such
 "laws do not extend to lay duties or custom or other obstruc-
 "tion upon the navigation of either of the said rivers by any
 "inhabitant of South or North Carolina or their free commerce
 "and trade with the Indian nations, either within or to the
 "southward of the Margravate, Sir Robert consenting that the
 "same duty shall be charged on skins within the Margravate
 "which at this time stands charged on such skins in South
 "Carolina and appropriated to the maintenance of the clergy
 "there, so long as that duty is continued in South Carolina,
 "but the said duty shall not be increased in Azilia, tho' the
 "assembly of South Carolina should think fit to increase it
 "there, nor shall it longer continue to be paid than while it
 "shall remain appropriated, as at present, to the maintenance
 "of the clergy only. In consideration of all which powers,
 "rights, privileges, prerogatives, and franchises, Sir Robert
 "shall transport, at his own expense, a considerable number
 "of families with all necessaries for making a new settlement
 "in the said tract of land, and in case it be neglected for the
 "space of three years from the date of this grant, the then
 "grant shall become void, anything herein contained to the
 "contrary notwithstanding. Dated June the nineteenth, 1717.

" CARTARET, Palatine,

" JA. BERTIE, for the

" Duke of Beaufort,

" M. ASHLEY,

" JOHN COLLETON, &c."

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

IT lies about the 31st and 32d degree of northern latitude, is bounded eastward by the great Atlantic sea, to the west by a part of the Apalachian mountains, and to the north and south by the two great rivers mentioned in the grant.

In the maps of North America it may be taken notice of how well this country lies for trade with all our colonies, and in regard to every other prospect which can make a situation healthy, profitable, lovely, and inviting ; Florida, of which it is a part, received that name from its delightful florid and agreeable appearance.

It has been commonly observed that gay descriptions of new countries raise a doubt of their sincerity. Men are apt to think the picture drawn beyond the life, to serve the interest of the representer. To shun the prejudice of this opinion, whatever shall be said upon the subject here is all extracted from our English writers, who are very numerous, and universally agree that Carolina, and especially in its southern bounds, is the most amiable country of the universe ; that nature has not blessed the world with any tract which can be preferable to it, that paradise with all her virgin beauties, may be modestly supposed at most but equal to its native excellencies.

It lies in the same latitude with Palestine herself, that promised Canaan which was pointed out by God's own choice to bless the labors of a favorite people. It abounds with rivers, woods, and meadows. Its gentle hills are full of mines, lead, copper, iron, and even some of silver ; 'tis beautiful with odoriferous plants, green all the year. Pine, cedar, cypress, oak, elm, ash, or walnut, with innumerable other sorts, both fruit or timber trees grow every where so pleasantly that tho' they meet at top and shade the traveler, they are at the same time so distant in their bodies and so free from underwood or bushes that the deer and other game which feed in droves along these forests, may be often seen near half a mile between them.

The air is healthy and the soil in general fruitful and of infinite variety ; vines, naturally flourishing upon the hills, bear grapes in most luxurient plenty. They have every growth which we possess in England and almost every thing that

England wants besides. The orange and the limon thrive in the same common orchard with the apple and the pear tree, plums, peaches, apricots, and nectarines, bear from stones in three years growing. The planters raise large orchards of these fruits to feed their hogs with ; wheat ears have been measured there seven inches long, and they have barley, beans, pease, rice, and all our grains, roots, herbs, and flowers, not to speak of numbers of their own, which we can find no names for ; beef, mutton, pork, tame poultry, wild fowl, sea and river fish, are all there plentiful, and most at lower rates than in the cheapest parts of Wales or Scotland.

The many lakes and pretty rivulets throughout the province breed a multitude of geese and other water fowl ; the air is found so temperate and the seasons of the year so very regular that there is no excess of heat or cold, nor any sudden alterations in the weather ; the river banks are covered with a strange variety of lovely trees, which being always green, present a thousand landships to the eye, so fine and so diversified that the sight is entirely charmed with them ; the ground lies sloping towards the rivers, but at a distance rises gradually and intermingles like hills of wood with fruitful plains all covered over with wild flowers and not a tree to interrupt the prospect. Nor is this tempting country yet inhabited, except those parts in the possession of the English, unless by here and there a tribe of wandering Indians, wild and ignorant, all artless and uncultivated as the soil which fosters them.

OF THE FORM PROPOSED IN SETTLING.

OUR meaning here relates to what immediate measures will be taken for security against the insults of the natives during the infancy of our affairs ; to which end we shall not satisfy ourselves with building here and there a fort, the fatal practice of America, but so dispose the habitations and divisions of the land that not alone our houses, but whatever we possess, will be enclosed by military lines impregnable against the savages and which will make our whole plantation one continued fortress.

It need not be supposed that all the lands will thus be forti-

fied at once ; the first lines drawn will be in just proportion to the number of men they enclose ; as the inhabitants increase new lines will be made to enclose them also, so that all the people will be always safe within a well defended line of circumvallation.

The reader will allow it is not necessary that these retrenchments be of bulk like those of Europe ; small defence is strong against the poor unskilful natives of America ; they have accomplished all their bloody mischiefs by surprises and incursions, but durst never think of a defiance to artillery.

The massacres and frequent ruins which have fallen upon some English settlements for want of this one caution, have sufficiently instructed us that strength, producing safety, is the point which should be chiefly weighed in such attempts as these. Solon had reason when he said to Cræsus, looking on his treasure, " You are rich indeed, and so far you are mighty ; but if any man should come with sharper steel than yours, how easily will he be made the master of your gold ? "

At the arrival therefore of the first men carried over, proper officers shall mark and cause to be entrenched a square of land, in just proportion to their number ; on the outsides of this square, within the little bastions or redoubts of the entrenchment, they raise light timber dwellings, cutting down the trees which everywhere encompass them. The officers are quartered with the men whom they command, and the governor in chief is placed exactly in the center. By these means the laboring people (being so disposed, as to be always watchful of an enemies' approach) are themselves within the eye of those set over them, and all together under the inspection of their principal.

The redoubts may be near enough to defend each other with muskets, but field pieces and patareros will be planted upon each, kept charged with cartridge shot and pieces of old iron ; within these redoubts are the common dwellings of the men who must defend them ; between them runs a palisadoed bank and a ditch which will be scoured by the artillery. One man in each redoubt kept night and day upon the guard, will give alarm upon occasion to the others at their work. So they cultivate their lands, secure their cattle, and follow their business with great ease and safety. Exactly in the center of the

inmost square will be a fort, defended by large cannon, pointing every way and capable of making strong resistance in case some quarter of the outward lines should chance to be surprised by any sudden accident which yet with tolerable care would be impracticable.

The nature of this scheme, when weighed against the ignorance and wildness of the natives, will show that men thus settled, may at once defend and cultivate a territory with the utmost satisfaction and security, even in the heart of an Indian country, then how much rather in a place considerably distant from the savage settlements.

As the numbers shall encrease and they go on to clear more space of land, they are to regulate their settlements with like regard to safety and improvement, and, indeed, the difference as to time and labor is not near so great as may be thought betwixt enclosing land this way and following the dangerous common method ; but what is here already said will serve the end for which it has been written, which was only to give a general notion of the care and caution we propose to act with.

It will not, however, be amiss, as you have seen the first rude form of our Azilia in her infancy, to view her also in the fulness of her beauty ; and to that end we have affixed a plan of one whole district, cleared, planted, and inhabited ; for as the country thrives all future townships will be formed according to this plan and measured out as near each other as the rivers, hills, and other natural impediments will any way admit of.

But lest it should be feared from the correctness of this model that 'twill be a work of too great difficulty and require a mighty length of time to bring it to perfection, we think it proper to declare that purchasers will not be obliged to wait this form of settlement, but are entitled to the immediate profits of peculiar lands assigned them from the very first arrival of the colony ; which lands, being set apart for that purpose, will be strongly enclosed and defended by the lines, or entrenchments before mentioned.

Neither would we have it thought a labor so tedious as 'tis generally fancied to establish in this manner a colony which may become not only an advantage, but a glory to the nation. We have prospects before us most attractive and unprecedented

in the three tempting points, wealth, safety, and liberty. Benefits like these can never fail of drawing numbers of inhabitants from every corner ; and men once get together 'tis as easy to dispose them regularly and with due regard to order, beauty, and the comforts of society as to leave them to the folly of fixing at random and destroying their interest by indulging their humor ; so that we have more than ordinary cause to expect that in a very short time we shall be able to present the solid life itself, as now we give the shadow only in the following explanation.

You must suppose a level, dry, and fruitful tract of land in some fine plain or valley, containing a just square of twenty miles each way, or two hundred and fifty-six thousand acres, laid out and settled in the form presented in the cut annexéd.

The district is defended by sufficient numbers of men, who, dwelling in the fortified angles of the line will be employed in cultivating lands which are kept in hand for the particular advantage of the Margrave : these lands surround the district just within the lines, and every where contain in breadth one mile exactly.

The men thus employed are such as shall be hired in Great Britain or Ireland, well disciplined, armed, and carried over on condition to serve faithfully for such a term of years as they before shall agree to ; and that no man may be wretched in so happy a country at the expiration of those peoples' time, besides some other considerable and unusual encouragements, all such among them who shall marry in the country or come married thither, shall have a right of laying claim to a certain fee-farm, or quantity of land ready cleared, together with a house built upon it and a stock sufficient to improve and cultivate it, which they shall enjoy, rent and tax free during life, as a reward for their services, by which means two very great advantages must naturally follow ; poor laboring men so secured of a fixed future settlement, will be thereby induced to go thither more willingly, and act when there with double diligence and duty, and when their time expires possessing just land enough to pass their lives at ease and bring their children up honestly, the families they leave will prove a constant seminary of sober servants of both sexes, for the gentry of the colony, whereby they will be under no necessity to use

the dangerous help of Blackamoors or Indians. The lands set apart for this purpose are two miles in breadth, quite round the district, and lie next within the Margrave's own reserved lands above-mentioned.

The 116 squares, each of which has a house in the middle, are every one a mile on each side, or 640 acres in a square, bating only for the highways which divide them. These are the estates belonging to the gentry of the district, who, being so confined to an equality in land, will be profitably emulous of outdoing each other in improvement, since that is the only way left them to grow richer than their neighbors, and when the Margravate is once become strong enough to form many districts, the estates will be all given gratis, together with many other benefits to honest and qualified gentlemen in Great Britain, or elsewhere, who, having numerous and well-educated families, possess but little fortunes other than their industry, and will therefore be chosen to enjoy these advantages, which they shall pay no rent or other consideration for; and yet the undertaking will not fail to find its own account in their prosperity.

The four great parks, or rather forests, are each four miles square, that is, 16 miles round each forest, in which are propagated herds of cattle of all sorts by themselves, not alone to serve the uses of the district they belong to, but to store such new ones as may from time to time be measured out on affluence of people.

The middle hollow square, which is full of streets crossing each other, is the city, and the bank which runs about it on the outside surrounded with trees, is a large void space, which will be useful for a thousand purposes, and among the rest, as being airy and affording a fine prospect of the town in drawing near it.

In the center of the city stands the Margrave's house, which is to be his constant residence, or the residence of the Governor, and contains all sorts of public edifices for despatch of business; and this again is separated from the city by a space like that, which as above, divides the town from the country.

OF SOME DESIGNS IN VIEW FOR MAKING PROFIT.

OUR prospects in this point are more extensive than we think it needful to discover ; it were a shame should we confine the fruitfulness of such a rich and lovely country to some single product which example first makes common, and the being common, robs of benefit. Thus sugar in Barbadoes, rice in Carolina, and tobacco in Virginia, take up all the labors of their people, overstock the markets, stifle the demand, and make their industry their ruin, merely through a want of due reflection on diversity of other products equally adapted to their soil and climate.

Coffee, tea, figs, raisins, currants, almonds, olives, silk, wine, cochineal, and great variety of still more rich commodities, which we are forced to buy at mighty rates from countries lying in the very latitude of our plantations. All these we certainly shall propagate, tho' it may perhaps be said that they are yet but distant views ; meanwhile we shall confine our first endeavors to such easy benefits as will (without the smallest waiting for the growth of plants) be offered to our industry from the spontaneous wealth which overruns the country.

The reader may assure himself our undertakings upon all occasions will be the plainest and most ready roads to profit, not formed from doubtful and untried conceits nor hampered by a train of difficulties ; none are more apt than we to disregard chimerical or rash designs ; but 'tis the business of men's judgment to divide things plain from things unlikely.

We cannot think it proper to be too particular upon this subject, nor will it, we suppose, be expected from us. One example, however, we will give, because we would present a proof that much is practicable there which has not yet been put in practice ; we shall pitch on potash, a commodity of great consumption in the trades of dying, glass-making, soap-boiling, and some others ; not that this is the only present prospect which we build on, but as 'tis necessary we should particularize one benefit that others may be credible.

And here it will not be amiss if we describe what potash is and how they make it, since, 'tis likely, some may have attempted it already in the forests of America, and miscarried, by depending upon ignorant undertakers.

It is not very properly indeed called potash, not being any kind of ashes, but the fixed and vegetable salt of ashes, which, if mixed with water, melts away and turns to lye. For this reason, 'tis preferred to all other lixivate ashes, foreign or domestic, which, not being perfect salts, but ashes of bean-straw and other vegetables, made stronger by the help of lye, bear no proportion as to price, with potash itself, which is, as we said before, the pure salt without any of the ashes.

To produce this salt in Russia and the countries famous for it, they burn great quantities of oak, fir, birch, and other woods, cut down when flourishing and full of sap; the ashes they throw into boilers or huge caldrons full of water, and extract a thick, sharp lye by boiling; they let this lye grow clear by settling and then draw it off and throw away the ashes left at bottom.

This lye, so clarified, they boil again, and as the watery part evaporates apace, they supply the waste thro' a small pipe from another vessel of the same sort of lye set higher than the boiler; at last, by a continued evaporation, the whole vessel becomes full of a thick brownish salt, which being dug out in lumps and afterwards calcined, completes the work and gives a color to the potash like a whitish blue, in which condition it is barreled up and fit for merchants.

Nothing can be plainer or more easy than this practice in our intended settlement. As to the boilers, which have ever been the great and terrifying expense and encumbrance of this work, we shall extremely lessen and reduce that charge almost to nothing, by some new methods, being an experienced invention, wherein we use neither copper, lead, iron, nor other mineral whatsoever, and (that excepted), there is no material necessary, but wood only; for wood cut down and burnt upon the ground affords the ashes; the rivers every where abounding in that country furnish water; ashes and water boiled together yield the lye; the lye evaporated, leaves behind the salt, and that very salt calcined becomes the potash, and it is packed and sent away in barrels, made and hooped there also.

From due consideration of these circumstances, it appears that this must be a rich and gainful undertaking in a country where the greatest quantities of timber and the finest in the world, cost nothing but the pains of cutting down and burning

on the banks of navigable rivers, where the enlivening influence of the sun prepares the trees much better for this practice than in colder climates, and where stubbing up the woods which cover all the settlement, will give a sure and double benefit, for first they yield this valuable traffic potash, and afterwards leave clear the ground they grow on for producing yearly crops of such commodities as are most profitable and fittest for the country.

Thus, having faintly touched the outward lines and given some prospect of our purpose, we proceed to the conditions upon which we will admit of purchasers.

THE PROPOSAL.

NOTE that for the purchasers' security and effectually making good their claims as well to the land which they shall buy as to all the other benefits proposed in the following articles, the whole country and its improvements in all times to come, is settled as a mortgage and made liable in manner as hereunder recited, in which such unusual and equitable regard has been had, for avoiding all charge or delay in respect to the distance of countries and the difficulties which might thence be suspected to arise in obtaining satisfaction by the ordinary course of the laws that nothing of form or expense will be necessary; but on the first breach of covenant, an easy and immediate possession may be taken of the forfeited province and for ever maintained against all kind of pleas or pretences for the use of the purchasers. And that perpetual and unobjectionable testimony may remain for the more absolute securing the rights of the purchasers, the following deed, together with the articles themselves, stands enrolled in the High Court of Chancery.

TO All to whom these presents shall come, I, Robert Mountgonry of Skelmorley, in the Sheridom of Aire in North-Britain Baronet send greeting. Whereas His Excellency the Lord Carteret Palatine, and the rest of the true and absolute lords proprietors of the province of Carolina in America have by their grant, bearing date the nineteenth day of June last, bargained, sold, aliened, released, enfeoffed, and confirmed to

me the above-mentioned Sir Robert Mountgomry, my heirs and assigns, all that tract of land in their said province, which lies between the rivers Allatamaha and Savanna, and erected the said tract into a distinct province, with proper and independant jurisdictions, under the name and title of the Margravate of Azilia, to be held of them the lords proprietors of Carolina by me, my heirs and assigns for ever ; and whereas for better carrying on my design of transporting people and making a new settlement in the said Margravate, I have made and caused to be published the proposals hereunto annexed, now therefore for securing the advantages proposed in the said articles to all who shall or may subscribe any sum or sums of money for the purchase of lands and profits in the Margravate of Azilia aforesaid, and shall on their parts make good the payments and conditions mentioned in the articles, I the above-named Sir Robert Mountgomry do, by these presents to be enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, in perpetual proof and testimony of the security hereby designed to be conveyed, engage, bind, mortgage, assign, and firmly make subject the said grant, lands and benefits for making good the uses in the said articles expressed in manner as at large herein under described ; and I do hereby declare and consent, that the instruments signed by my handwriting as recited in the seventh article, shall be deemed and they are by virtue of these presents declared to be a firm and sufficient proof of title to the respective claim therein mentioned to be conveyed by and upon the security by these presents provided ; and I do hereby authorize and appoint David Kennedy, Esq., in my absence to fill up and deliver the said instruments with all effectual authority and irrevocable right of representation which by letter of attorney, or by any other form or means whatever can or might be deputed to him, and I declare myself obliged, as to the sufficiency of the writings delivered by such act of the said David Kennedy, Esq., as firmly as if I had in person filled and delivered the said writings ; and in case that I Sir Robert Mountgomry, or my heirs or assigns, or any claiming right or exercising power by, from, or under me, shall at any time hereafter refuse to submit to the said annexed articles or to any of them, or shall under any unjust pretense whatsoever forbear the cultivation of the purchasers' lands, or consign the annual products arising therefrom, or any part of the same, to

any other person or persons than to the factor or factors, who shall be appointed by the purchasers or to persons approved by them, or shall refuse, or deny admission, residence, or ocular satisfaction on the spot to any agent whom the purchasers may at any time think fit to send over for that purpose; in any of these cases the purchasers shall, by virtue of these presents (any form of law, usage, custom, or pretense to the contrary notwithstanding) have a warrantable and incontrovertable right and authority to procure and obtain present justice to themselves in manner following, that is to say—upon such breach of covenant the said purchasers shall, or may meet upon the summons of the party injured, or of any other person interested, and by a majority of the voices present elect a committee of three, which committee shall draw up a state of the case they complain of and present it to me, or my heirs or assigns, or to any agent acting for me, or them, or any of them in London or elsewhere, and if within ten days after such presentation they receive not due satisfaction from such person or agent, they shall leave notice in writing at the place of his dwelling or publish in the *Gazette*, or other authentic news letter, that on some day therein to be named, they design to lay the state of their case before the king's attorney general and solicitor general in London for the time being, in order to have their opinion whether the fact they complain of be or be not a breach of any part of the articles hereunto annexed, that so the said person or agent may attend if he shall have anything to offer in defense of the matter complained of, and if upon the question the attorney and solicitor general shall join in opinion and give it under their hands that the cause of complaint does plainly appear in their judgments to be a breach of the articles subscribed to, and such person, as above described, or some agent acting for him, shall not forthwith make due satisfaction, such forbearance to do justice in the case, shall, after thirty days next following the date of the said written opinion, become an absolute forfeiture of the grant, and from thenceforth all lands, prerogatives, privileges, powers, and benefits whatsoever held, claimed, or enjoyed by virtue of the said grant, shall be taken possession of for the sole future use of the body of purchasers, and shall be carried on to their general advantage and according to their orders and direction by any person or

persons whom they shall choose by a majority of their voices, and send over to that purpose. And that no possible let or impediment on my part, or the part of my heirs or assigns, may in any sort incommode or prevent the most strict and immediate performance of this covenant, I the said Sir Robert, do hereby renounce for myself and all claiming from me, all pleas, prerogatives, privileges and pretenses whatsoever, which I, or they may be by the said grant, or by any form, custom, or mode of proceeding at law be possessed of, or entitled to ; and I do consent and declare that when the written opinion above mentioned of the attorney and solicitor general in London shall be produced to the lords proprietors of Carolina, and sent over to their deputies at Charles Town, and be entered in their journal, it shall stand as a determinate judgment recorded against me, or them, after which no appeal shall be lawful, and possession shall be given immediately, that is to say, no other process shall be needful than twenty days' notice from the governor and council at Charles Town above mentioned ; from which time forever, if full satisfaction be not made within the said twenty days, as well in the matter complained of as by payment of all costs and damages sustained by the complainants, the purchasers shall in right of themselves and by virtue of these presents, possess, occupy, and enjoy all manner of authorities, territories, and advantages of what kind soever arising from the grant above-said, and I the said Sir Robert Mountgomry, my heirs and assigns, shall effectually stand excluded, both in law and in equity to all intents and purposes, as if the said grant had never been made. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this fifteenth day of July, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c.,

Annoq. Domini, 1717. R. MOUNTGOMRY.

ART. I. The first fifty thousand acres which shall be run out, settled, or planted, shall be always kept as a distinct division, separate from the rest of the Margravate, and shall all be cleared and improved before any other settlement is made, or suffered in any part of the Margravate, and a right will be sold by virtue of the proposed subscription, to all the profits arising from twenty-five thousand of those acres when the fifty thous-

and shall be cleared, and in the mean time to half the yearly amount of the whole profit which shall be made by the colony, which sale will be made in acres (more or less at the discretion of the buyer, only nothing less than five acres) at the rate of forty shillings per acre. And though the whole should not be purchased, yet the books shall, notwithstanding, be shut up forthwith, that so no time will be lost and the then number of purchasers, be they never so few, shall compose the body and enjoy their proportional benefits as fully as if the whole had been completed.

ART. II. The land thus bought is not to be cultivated at the charge of the buyer, but the yearly profits of it shall for ever be brought home to the purchasers, their heirs or assigns, in the ships of the Margravate, and paid them in regular dividends.

ART. III. The purchase money, that is to say, the forty shillings per acre above mentioned, shall be paid one-half down and the other half not till the first return of the shipping, and after a dividend of profit made among the purchasers by sale of such goods or products as the said ships bring over with them.

ART. IV. This first return and the whole yearly produce forever of the first settled fifty thousand acres, or so much thereof as shall at any time be cleared and cultivated, shall always come consigned to the purchasers' factors for the time being, or their agents, or to persons of their appointment or approbation, and shall be sold by them or by brokers of their choosing, which brokers shall account with them the said factors or their agents for the purchasers' half the profits and with the agents of Sir Robert Mountgomry, or his assigns, for the other half. Provided always that a preference be given to any buyer named by the said Sir Robert, or his assigns, or his or their agents, on condition however, that such buyer shall give a better price than has before been offered.

ART. V. That on the death or surrender of the factors, or upon dislike of their management, it is always to be understood that a majority of the purchasers shall have power to choose new ones in their places.

ART. VI. That on closing the book of subscription due notice shall be given, and the purchasers shall meet and choose by a majority of voices (every twenty acres entitling to a vote)

such person or persons as they think best qualified to act as their factors in the trust above mentioned, and such factor or factors shall, in consideration of their trouble, be allowed over and above their necessary charges in the management, such gratuity as the purchasers think reasonable out of the respective dividends which they from time to time shall pay to the said purchasers.

ART. VII. On payment of the first half the purchase money, the purchasers shall severally receive an instrument in form following :

This witnesseth, that A. B. did on this —— day of —— 1717, subscribe the sum of —— pounds towards establishment of a new colony in the Margravate of Azilia in Carolina, and paid down one-half of the said sum ; in consideration whereof, and of the remaining half to be paid, as by the articles provided, the said A. B. is for himself, his heirs or assigns, admitted as proprietor of —— acres of land in the said Margravate. The whole rents, products, profits, and advantages of which —— acres are absolutely vested in the said A. B., his heirs or assigns forever, as they shall arise and accrue yearly, by virtue of a general management, as by the articles provided, at the cost of Sir Robert Mountgomry, or his assigns, without charge or trouble to the said proprietor, under the penalties expressed and covenanted in a deed to that end, executed and enrolled in the high court of chancery for perpetual proof of the security therein provided. In witness whereof, I, the above-mentioned Sir Robert Mountgomry, have hereunto set my hand the day and year first above written.

R. MOUNTGOMRY.

ART. VIII. And for encouragement of those who shall considerably interest themselves in this affair. Whoever shall subscribe the sum of five hundred pounds for purchase of two hundred and fifty acres, as above mentioned, shall, over and above his yearly profits from the said two hundred and fifty acres, be entitled to one of the estates of a mile square, or 640 acres in the first district which shall be settled, as in the cut described. And shall for himself, his heirs and assigns forever, be put in possession of the said estate of 640 acres, together with a house built on it and the ground ready cleared to his

hand, without any charge to him or his assigns, as soon as such first district shall be measured out and settled ; the said estate to be cultivated at his pleasure and for his profit, by himself or his agents, on condition only, that if he shall not himself think fit to go over and inhabit it, the person he sends over in his stead shall be no ordinary overseer, but a gentleman well qualified, of a liberal education, who is married, and carries with him a genteel well bred family.

ART. IX. Over and above the regard which may naturally be expected to the recommendation of purchasers in disposal of offices and furnishing the various supplies from time to time needful, it will be fit that some particular encouragement be given to such as shall be early promoters of the undertaking, because in this, as in all great affairs, expedition is the main life of business, and the necessary preparations will require so much time that if the subscription is suddenly completed, it will turn to the extraordinary benefit of the design and all concerned in it. It is therefore hereby made an article that the first hundred subscribers (to be known by the numbers on their instruments), whether they subscribe more or less, shall have, and be firmly entitled in all dividends, to an additional share of profit, after the rate of one acre over and above every ten acres they buy, and so for more or less in proportion, to be paid them out of the undertaker's part of every dividend by their own factors or agents. As for instance, a purchaser of 100 acres if his ticket of purchase bears any number from 1 to 100, shall not, at the dividends, receive in proportion to the 100 acres he bought, but as if they were 110 acres ; by virtue of the ten acres additionally annexed to his quota by virtue of this article. And so it shall be understood of any different quantity purchas'd, from five acres upward.

A MORE PARTICULAR EXPLANATION OF THE BENEFITS OF THIS PROPOSAL.

'TIS impossible to give a firmer title than is hereby made both to the lands and their profits, since the whole country, with all its improvements in all times to come, is engaged as a mortgage, and will be forfeited into the purchaser's hands

on non-performance of the covenants, and as to the rate of the purchase 'tis the cheapest that ever was heard of. For it must be observed, that the forty shillings per acre is not a consideration for the land only, to be cultivated afterwards at the charge of the buyer, but on the contrary, it is the first and last expense, not only of the land, but its perpetual profit; so that for what is once laid out a man has, every year, brought home to his door, by other people's care and charge, and without the least trouble to himself but that of receiving the money, the produce and profit of so many acres of the finest land in the world, as he thus pays forty shillings a piece for it; and this is to continue, not only during his own life, but to descend forever to his heirs, or those to whom he shall assign his interest. And that the benefits of this proposal may as well reach those who are willing to spare but a little as those who shall incline to subscribe large sums, we have therefore fixed the lowest quantity at five acres, by which means people who cannot, or who care not to venture much, may become concerned for only five pound down and five pound more after the first dividend of profit at return of the shipping, and this will, we hope, be of general advantage, since the benefit being made diffusive, will reach numbers who had else been shut out; and with that view, we have permitted it, against the opinions of a few. Since a man who is able to spare but 10 or 20*l.* and does afterwards sell his interest for two or three hundred, will much more feel the benefit than one, who being able to subscribe larger sums, makes a profit in equal proportion.

And here, though we utterly disapprove all swelling and overrated computations, it will be some satisfaction to give as rational a guess, as things to come admit of, after what proportion purchasers may calculate their profit by the most modest expectation; for though 'tis impossible exactly to state these accounts before they are put to the trial, yet such computations as are fairly and impartially drawn, are at least so far useful as to give some idea to the reader of what he may otherwise perhaps be utterly ignorant in the very nature and meaning of.

It will be allowed without argument, that three working men may be carried over and maintained one whole year round for every hundred pound in the stock; and so a purchaser, for every hundred pounds he subscribes will, the first year, be

entitled to half what is gained by three men's constant labor the whole year about, the other half remaining to the undertakers to supply increase of people and the necessary charges of their maintenance and government.

The practice of our colonies all over America has made it undeniable that the labor of a man for one year no other way employed, will clear at least four acres ; it must be observed that we do not suppose him to cultivate the four acres, but only to cut and burn down the trees which grow there. By this account such a purchaser's first year's claim will be the profit of six acres (half three men's labor for that year) and his second year advancing in proportion, after allowance for all kinds of hazard, there arises a great and uncommon advantage. For not to urge that the designs we shall employ our men in, are such as may be fairly expected to produce far greater profit than the overstocked and beaten practices in use at present, we will take as our example the most common known product of South Carolina herself, and that is rice. This is, at least, one crop with another worth six pounds per acre ; we will state it, however, but at four pounds, and out of that allow deduction of one pound for freight home and duty, so the purchaser receives but three pounds neat from each acre.

Thus, all the land cleared, a man whose purchase money was a hundred pounds for fifty acres, must receive a hundred and fifty pounds per annum forever as the profit of it ; but we are not desirous of laying more weight than the reader on the exactness of such calculations. A thousand accidents not easily foreseen will still vary these events, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse ; we leave people's expectation to be determined by their reason, though even men of diffidence will, we think, be ashamed to disallow a computation so low as three pounds per acre, from such land in such a climate.

But it may be objected that we compute on a supposition of all the land cleared and improved by cultivation, whereas it may be some years before the woods which overrun it are felled and the earth fit for sowing. 'Tis true, to clear all the land will require some time, but while that is doing we make all our potash before mentioned of the waste wood cut down to clear the land, and the profit from an acre that way will be so much greater than from any yearly crop, that purchasers may reason-

ably expect as large gain the very first year from a few acres only as afterwards from all their land cleared and cultivated.

A word or two to explain this assertion, which may look like a mystery, and we shall draw to a conclusion.

When workmen have nothing to do but fell great trees cross one another, and as soon as dry set fire to them that they may be burned to ashes, it is demonstrable beyond all dispute, that three men so employed in twelve months' constant work, must cut down more wood than can grow on twelve acres.

If, therefore, we state it but at twelve acres, it is a rate of computing which can admit of no reasonable contradiction, and to show how much potash this will yield, it is plain from experience—and any reader who doubts, may examine it at his pleasure for the charge of a faggot—that the weight of any good wood ashes amounts to about a sixteenth of the wood they are burned from, and the weight of the potash which will be produced from those ashes, is from a sixth to an eighth of the weight of the ashes; but allowing at large for loss, waste, and accidents, call the sixteenth a twentieth and the sixth a tenth only.

For quantity of wood, say there grows on an acre so covered with huge timber trees but four hundred tons; we have often much more (bark, timber, and brushwood) on an acre in England; it is therefore an unexceptionable computation for America, where the date of the woods instead of years must be reckoned by ages. Then the wood of an acre yields two tons of potash and the whole year's labor of three men employed in cutting down and burning on twelve acres and boiling and managing the ashes, will produce twenty-four tons of potash, which being a commodity of universal consumption, cannot easily overstock markets, at least not from far greater quantities of wood land than we are here talking of.

The general price of such potash, being the richest and best, is from forty to sixty pounds sterling per ton, but we will reduce it to twenty for arguments sake, though such a fall is improbable for such a commodity (some of our own English ashes, which have not a fourth part good potash yielding that price or more), the twenty-four ton will then sell for four hundred and eighty pounds. If out of this sum we allow for payment of freight and custom house duties, etc., at the most extravagant

reckoning, we may deduct on that score one hundred and eighty pounds, and then out of the remaining three hundred, one hundred and fifty pounds will be due to the purchaser in England as the first year's clear profit of his hundred pound venture, and that profit will be every year growing greater and greater.

We repeat here once again, that we would not impose the punctual exactness of such calculations as a matter of infallibility. The utmost men can do in these cases is fairly to lay down probabilities, and that we have done undeniably, notwithstanding the giant-like size of the benefit, and we should perhaps far more surprise if we varied the subject and computed on some other of our intentions. A man would make but a very indifferent use of his caution who should neglect an uncommon advantage without some better reason against it than that the prospect of profit was too great to be credited; but be that as it will, here is room enough for profit, let men reduce it, as they please, nor indeed is profit how great soever the only motive to men of noble minds. There is in an attempt of this nature something more to recommend it to all those who take a pleasure in things public spirited and useful to posterity.

If then what we have said is not sufficient encouragement, whatever we can say will be said to no purpose, so we only shall add our most earnest entreaty that every reader would narrowly scan both the facts and the reasonings here offered, and let it be done with the sharpest attention and severity of his judgment, for we are justly convinced that they who examine them most will most firmly believe them.

POSTSCRIPT.

THOUGH all that I think can possibly be expected by a reasonable reader has been said in the short Tract foregoing, I find myself advised to add a word or two by way of postscript, for satisfaction of some who may be apt to object that though the lands which are bought, will be more than an equivalent for the money subscribed when those lands shall be settled and planted, yet as they are of no such value in their present condition, and as the subscribers should have all pos-

sible security that the settlement shall really be made as proposed, they may therefore expect that over and above the assignment of the lands, the money they subscribe should, instead of being paid into my hands, be deposited in those of trustees for the uses intended.

Though I cannot but hope that such kind of suspicions will never disturb any person to whom I am known, yet I thought but reasonable to state the objection, and answer it for the sakes of such readers who, being equally strangers to my person and character, may justly enough entertain the distrusts which are common and allowable in matters of money and bargainings.

It will be granted that it signifies little into whose hands the money is paid, if it is but applied to the purpose intended, and as I neither expect nor desire the subscription of any but such who, by weighing the design, are fully convinced that it is well founded and profitable, so it follows, as a necessary consequence, that all such must think their money best placed in his hands whose profit, honor, and success must depend upon that of the undertaking, and who may therefore be naturally supposed more careful and diligent than others would be in the application of the money, because always most interested in the effect of that application.

This reason is so good that it might alone be sufficient, if there was not another as considerable, which arises from the following reflection :

Where trustees are to act in matters of care, form, or equity, it must be confessed they are not only useful, but necessary ; but when they are trusted, as in our case they would be, with a deposit of money and a power to see it applied to a purpose in which they are no otherwise concerned than as adventurers among others (to say nothing of the impossibility to choose such as would be equally agreeable to all), the temptations are many and but too well known, which may make it their interest to find means of cavil under plausible pretences for delaying the business and detainment of the money as long as the managers shall see it convenient for their private advantages.

A wise man will therefore very easily discern and approve of my reasons for not dividing the power of the money from the power of the management, since on this only rock might

be split a more promising adventure than was ever undertaken.

If I did not believe that everybody's experience can furnish him with instances enough in the daily destructions of well laid designs through the idle disputes and disagreements of those who are carrying them on, it were easy to illustrate the fact by a thousand examples.

But as none, I presume, will deny a known truth, I will instance but one which is the fitter for my purpose, because it is taken not only from a parallel case, but was acted in the very next country to that which is the scene of our settlement.

The first attempts which were made for the settling an English plantation in Virginia were carried on by the private subscriptions of gentlemen and others who thought it their interest by way of security to entrust the disposal of their money to certain men of the best public credit among them, who were chosen trustees, and transacted all matters at home in the name of the body. Meanwhile the command of their colonies was committed to such great and brave men as Sir Walter Raleigh and others who went over and settled the country with all the appearance of a promising good fortune, but just in the crisis when their houses were built, lands prepared, and nothing was wanting but the expected arrival of ships with the necessary supplies of ammunition and provisions they were all starved to death or cut off by the Indians with a shocking barbarity; for the gentlemen in England, while they should have laid out the money subscribed and sent over the supplies above mentioned, were quarreling with one another who should make most advantage by furnishing such goods as were wanted, or helping others to do it, in which, and the like kind of follies, they wasted sometimes two, three, or more years, till their poor starving colonies fell a sacrifice to their inhumanity and avarice.

Nor was this game played but once and then mended; on the contrary, from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to that of King Charles the First they repeated the extravagance in numberless trials, and lost six or seven different colonies, not to mention the money they had so warily ventured into the bargain, by no other error or miscarriage than that the disposal of their stock did not lie in the same hands which had the management of their authority. And this was so visible a truth that King

Charles, above mentioned, as a punishment of their indiscretion, deprived them of their charter, and ever after that, the purse and the power being joined, as they ought, Virginia thrived apace, till it grew the most flourishing and mighty of all our plantations in America.

This remarkable instance ought to serve as a warning to all who embark in these noble designs, not to run into losses by mistaken endeavors and ill-guided cautions to avoid them. The reader may apply the advice as he pleases, but we would have none concerned with us whose established opinion of the nature of this undertaking does not set him above all mean and unnecessary jealousies.

R. MOUNTGOMRY.

The subscription book will be opened at the Carolina Coffee-house in Birchin lane, near the Royal Exchange, on Thursday, the first day of August next, and attendance will be given from 9 to 12, and from 3 to 6 daily.

JUST PUBLISHED.

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS; or the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER, of COOPERS-TOWN, to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street. 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction by James Fenimore Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS;
OR THE HISTORY OF THE
FIRST SETTLEMENT IN THE WESTERN
COUNTIES OF NEW YORK,
WITH USEFUL INSTRUCTIONS TO
FUTURE SETTLERS.

PRICE 25 CENTS

BOUND IN PAPER

GEORGE P. HUMPHREY

ROCHESTER

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER TWO

JUNE 1897

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
COLONY OF GEORGIA, UNDER
GENERAL JAMES OGLETHORPE,
FEBRUARY 1, 1733.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by
GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller; or send direct to the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y. The number for July will contain "A State of the Province of Georgia, attested upon oath, in the Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740. London: Printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill, MDCCXLII."

JUST PUBLISHED.

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS; or the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with Useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER, of COOPERS-TOWN, to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: Printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street; 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction especially written for this new edition by James Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, a great grandson of Judge Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
COLONY OF GEORGIA

UNDER
GEN. JAMES OGLETHORPE,

FEBRUARY 1, 1733.

COLONIAL TRACTS

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

EDITED BY

No 2 JUNE 1897

COLONIAL TRACTS

Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE COLONY OF GEORGIA, UNDER GEN.
JAMES OGLETHORPE, FEBRRARY 1, 1733.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TRUSTEES.

LONDON, July 22, 1732.—On Thursday last, the trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, held their first regular meeting. Their charter was read ; as also, a certificate from the Lord Chief Baron of his Majesty's exchequer, by which it appeared that Rt. Hon. the Lord Viscount Percival had qualified himself as president, and taken the oath for the faithful administration of his trust. Then the president administered the oath for the faithful administration of their trust to the several trustees present.

September 22, 1732.—On Thursday last, the Lord Carpenter sat for the first time as one of the trustees for Georgia in America ; and after taking the oaths, was chosen president in the absence of the Lord Viscount Percival.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote acquainted the court of directors of the bank with his majesty's having granted a charity for relieving necessitous people, by establishing of the aforesaid colony, and after showing the great charity of the undertaking, and the future benefit arising to England by the strengthening of all the American colonies and increasing our trade and navigation, and raising raw silk, for which upwards of £200,000 a year is paid to Piedmont, he himself gave a very handsome benefaction to the design, and was followed by all the directors then present.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE DESIGNS OF THE TRUSTEES FOR ESTABLISHING THE COLONY OF GEORGIA IN AMERICA.

IN America there are fertile lands sufficient to subsist all the useless poor in England and distressed Protestants in Europe, yet thousands starve for want of mere sustenance. The distance makes it difficult to get thither. The same want that renders men useless here, prevents their paying their passage, and if others pay it for them they become servants, or rather slaves, for years to those who have defrayed the expense. Therefore, money for passage is necessary, but is not the only want; for if people were set down in America, and the land before them, they must cut down trees, build houses, fortify towns, dig and sow the land before they can get in a harvest; and till then, they must be provided with food, and kept together, that they may be assistant to each other for their natural support and protection.

The Romans esteemed the sending forth of colonies among their noblest works; they observed that Rome, as she increased in power and empire, drew together such a conflux of people from all parts, that she found herself overburdened with their number, and the government brought under an incapacity to provide for them, or keep them in order. Necessity, the mother of invention, suggested to them an expedient which at once gave ease to the capital and increased the wealth and number of industrious citizens by lessening the useless and unruly multitude, and by planting them in colonies on the frontiers of their empire, gave a new strength to the whole, and this they looked upon to be so considerable a service to the commonwealth that they created peculiar officers for the establishment of such colonies, and the expense was defrayed out of the public treasury.

FROM THE CHARTER :

His Majesty having taken into his consideration the miserable circumstances of many of his own poor subjects, ready to perish for want, as likewise the distresses of many poor foreigners who would take refuge here from persecution, and having a princely regard to the great danger the southern

709565

frontiers of South Carolina are exposed to, by reason of the small number of white inhabitants there, hath, out of his fatherly compassion towards his subjects, been graciously pleased to grant a charter for incorporating a number of gentlemen by the name of "The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America." They are empowered to collect benefactions, and lay them out in clothing, arming, sending over, and supporting colonies of the poor, whether subjects or foreigners, in Georgia. And his Majesty farther grants all his lands between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, which he erects into a province by the name of Georgia, unto the trustees, in trust for the poor, and for the better support of the colony. At the desire of the gentlemen, there are clauses in the charter restraining them and their successors from receiving any salary, fee, perquisite, or profit, whatsoever by or from this undertaking; and also from receiving any grant of lands within the said district, to themselves, or in trust for them. There are further clauses granting to the trustees proper powers for establishing and governing the colony and liberty of conscience to all who shall settle there.

The trustees intend to relieve such unfortunate persons as cannot subsist here, and establish them in an orderly manner, so as to form a well regulated town. As far as their fund goes, they will defray the charge of their passage to Georgia; give them necessaries, cattle, land, and subsistence, till such time as they can build their houses and clear some of their land. They rely for success, first on the goodness of Providence, next on the compassionate disposition of the people of England, and, they doubt not, that much will be spared from luxury and superfluous expenses by generous tempers, when such an opportunity is offered them by the giving of £20 to provide for a man or woman, or £10 to a child forever.

In order to prevent the benefaction given to this purpose from ever being misapplied, and to keep up, as far as human precaution can, a spirit of disinterestedness, the trustees have established the following method: That each benefactor may know what he has contributed is safely lodged and justly accounted for, all money given will be deposited in the Bank of England, and entries made of every benefaction, in a book to be kept for that purpose by the trustees, or, if concealed,

the names of those by whose hands they sent their money. There are to be annual accounts of all the money received and how the same has been disposed of, laid before the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or two of them will be transmitted to every considerable benefactor.

By such a colony many families who would otherwise starve, will be provided for and made masters of houses and lands, the people in Great Britain to whom these necessitous families were a burden, will be relieved, numbers of manufacturers will be here employed for supplying them with clothes, working tools, and other necessities; and by giving refuge to the distressed Saltzburghers and other persecuted Protestants, the power of Britain, as a reward for its hospitality, will be increased by the addition of so many religious and industrious subjects.

The colony of Georgia lying about the same latitude with part of China, Persia, Palestine, and the Madeiras; it is highly probable that when hereafter it shall be well-peopled and rightly cultivated, England may be supplied from thence with raw silk, wine, oil, dyes, drugs, and many other materials for manufactures which she is obliged to purchase from southern countries. As towns are established and grow populous along the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha they will make such a barrier as will render the southern frontier of the British colonies on the continent of America safe from Indian and other enemies.

All human affairs are so subject to chance, that there is no answering for events, yet from reason and the nature of things it may be concluded that the riches and also the number of the inhabitants in Great Britain will be increased by importing at a cheap rate from this new colony the materials requisite for carrying on in Britain several manufactures. For our manufacturers will be encouraged to marry and multiply when they find themselves in circumstances to provide for their families, which must necessarily be the happy effect of the increase and cheapness of our materials of those manufactures which at present we purchase with our money from foreign countries at dear rates; and also many people will find employment here on account of such farther demands by the people of this colony for those manufactures which are made for the produce of our

own country, and, as has been justly observed, the people will always abound where there is full employment for them.

Christianity will be extended by the execution of this design, since the good discipline established by the society, will reform the manners of those miserable objects who shall be by them subsisted, and the example of a whole colony who shall behave in a just, moral, and religious manner, will contribute greatly towards the conversion of the Indians, and taking off the prejudices received from the profligate lives of such who have scarce anything of Christianity but the name.

The trustees in their general meetings will consider of the most prudent methods for effectually establishing a regular colony, and that it may be done is demonstrable. Under what difficulties was Virginia planted?—the coast and climate then unknown; the Indians numerous and at enmity with the first planters, who were forced to fetch all provisions from England; yet it is grown a mighty province, and the revenue receives £100,000 for duties upon the goods that they send yearly home. Within this fifty years Pennsylvania was as much a forest as Georgia is now, and in these few years by the wise economy of William Penn and those who assisted him, it now gives food to 80,000 inhabitants, and can boast of as fine a city as most in Europe.

This new colony is more likely to succeed than either of the former were, since Carolina abounds with provisions, the climate is known, and there are men to instruct in the seasons and nature of cultivating the soil. There are but few Indian families within four hundred miles, and those in perfect amity with the English: Port Royal (the station of his Majesty's ships) is within thirty, and Charlestown (a great mart) is within 120 miles. If the colony is attacked, it may be relieved by sea from Port Royal or the Bahamas, and the militia of South Carolina is ready to support it by land.

For the continuing the relief which is now given, there will be lands reserved in the colony, and the benefit arising from them is to go to the carrying on of the trust. So that at the same time the money by being laid out preserves the lives of the poor, and makes a comfortable provision for those whose expenses are by it defrayed; their labor in improving their own lands will make the adjoining reserved lands valuable, and the

rents of those reserved lands will be a perpetual fund for the relieving more poor people. So that instead of laying out the money upon lands with the income thereof to support the poor, this is laying out money upon the poor, and by relieving those who are now unfortunate, raises a fund for the perpetual relief of those who shall be so hereafter.

There is an occasion now offered for every one to help forward this design ; the smallest benefaction will be received and applied with the utmost care ; every little will do something, and a great number of small benefactions will amount to a sum capable of doing a great deal of good.

If any person moved with the calamities of the unfortunate shall be inclined to contribute toward their relief, they are desired to pay their benefactions into the Bank of England on account of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, or else to any of the trustees, who are, etc.

ARRIVAL OF FIRST COLONISTS AT CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA, JANUARY 13, 1733.

CHARLESTOWN, January 20.—On Saturday night, January 13, 1733, came to anchor off our bar, a ship with about 120 people for settling the new colony of Georgia, in which was James Oglethorpe, Esq., who came ashore that night and was extremely well received by his excellency, our governor. The next morning he went on board and the ship sailed for Port Royal ; and, we hear, there are two more ships with people (which will make the number five hundred), expected daily.

ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS OF THE FIRST COLONY SENT TO GEORGIA.

WE set sail from Gravesend on the seventeenth of November, 1732, in the ship *Anne*, of two hundred tons, John Thomas, master, being about 130 persons, and arrived off the bar at Charlestown on the thirteenth day of January following. Mr. Oglethorpe went on shore to wait on the governor ; was

received with great marks of civility and satisfaction ; obtained an order for Mr. Middleton, the king's pilot, to carry the ship into Port Royal, and for small craft to carry the colony from thence to the river Savannah, with a promise of further assistance from the province. He returned on board the fourteenth day, and came to an anchor within the bar of Port Royal, at about sixteen miles distance from Beaufort. On the eighteenth he went on shore upon Trench's island, and left a guard of eight men upon John's, being a point of that island which commands the channel and is about half way between Beaufort and the river Savannah ; they had orders to prepare huts for the reception of the colony against they should lie there in their passage. From thence he went to Beaufort town, where he arrived about one o'clock in the morning, and was saluted with a discharge of all the artillery, and had the new barracks fitted up, where the colony landed on the twentieth day, and were, in every respect, cheerfully assisted by Lieutenant Watts, Ensign Farrington, and the other officers of his majesty's independent company, as also by Mr. Delabarr and other gentlemen of the neighborhood.

While the colony refreshed themselves there, Mr. Oglethorpe went up the river and chose a situation for a town, and entered into a treaty with Tomo-chi-chi, the micco, or chief of the only nation of Indians living near it. He returned on the twenty-fourth day, and they celebrated the Sunday following as a day of Thanksgiving for their safe arrival, and a sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Jones (the Rev. Dr. Herbert, who came with the colony, preaching that day at Beaufort town). There was a great resort of the gentlemen of that neighborhood and their families, and a plentiful dinner provided for the colony and all that came, by Mr. Oglethorpe ; being four fat hogs, eight turkeys, besides fowls, English beef, and other provisions, a hogshead of punch, a hogshead of beer, and a large quantity of wine ; and all was disposed in so regular a manner that no person was drunk nor any disorder happened.

On the thirtieth the colony embarked on board a sloop of seventy tons and five periaugers, and made sail, but were forced by a storm to put in at a place called the look-out, and to lie there all night. The next day they arrived at John's, where they found huts capable to contain them all, and a plen-

tiful supper of venison. They reëmbarked the next day, and in the afternoon arrived at the place intended for the town.

Being arrived on the first of February, at the intended town before night, they erected four large tents, sufficient to hold all the people, being one for each tything; they landed their bedding and other little necessities, and all the people lay on shore. The ground they encamped upon is the edge of the river where the key is intended to be.

Until the seventh was spent in making a crane and unlading the goods; which done, Mr. Oglethorpe divided the people, employing part in clearing the land for seed, part in beginning the palisade, and the remainder in felling of trees where the town is to stand.

Colonel Bull arrived here with a message from the general assembly to Mr. Oglethorpe and a letter from his excellency, Governor Johnson and the council, acquainting him that the two houses, upon a conference, had agreed to give twenty barrels of rice and one hundred head of cattle, besides hogs, to the trustees, and that they had commanded a detachment of the Rangers (which are horse, kept in the pay of the province, for the scouring of the frontiers), and the scout-boat (which is an armed bark, employed for the same purpose by water), to attend him and take his orders.

Colonel Bull brought with him four of his negroes, who were sawyers, to assist the colony, and also brought provision for them, being resolved to put the trust to no expense, and by this means to bestow his benefaction in the most noble and useful manner.

On the ninth day Mr. Oglethorpe and Colonel Bull marked out the square, the streets, and forty lots for houses for the town, and the first house (which was ordered to be made of clapboards), was begun that day.

The town lies on the south side of the river Savannah, upon a flat on the top of a hill, and sixty yards of it is reserved between it and the key. The river washes the foot of the hill, which stretches along the side of it about a mile and forms a terrace forty feet perpendicular above high water.

From the key, looking eastward, you may discover the river as far as the islands in the sea; and westward, one may see it wind through the woods about six miles. The river is 1000

feet wide, the water fresh, and deep enough for sloops of seventy tons to come up close to the side of the key.

GENERAL OGLETHORPE'S CONFERENCE WITH THE INDIANS.

MR. OGLETHORPE set out from Charlestown, S. C., on the fourteenth of May, 1733, and lay at Colonel Bull's house on Ashley river, where he dined the next day, and landed at Savannah on the eighteenth, at ten in the morning, where he found that Mr. Whiggan (the interpreter), with the chief men of all the Lower Creek nation were come down to treat of an alliance with the new colony—the Lower Creeks are a nation of Indians who formerly consisted of ten, but now are reduced to eight tribes or towns, who have each their different government, but are allied together, and speak the same language. They claim from the Savannah river as far as St. Augustine, and up to the Flint river, which falls into the bay of Mexico. All the Indians inhabiting this tract speak their language; Tomo-chi-chi, micco, and the Indians of Yamacraw, are of their nation and language.

Mr. Oglethorpe received the Indians in one of the new houses that afternoon. They were as follow :

From the tribe of Coweeta : Yahou-Lakee, their king, or micco ; Essoboo, their warrior, the son of Breen (lately dead), whom the Spaniards called " Emperor of the Creeks " ; with eight men and two women attendants.

From the tribe of Cusstaho : Cusseta, the micco ; Tatchiquatchi, the head warrior ; with four attendants.

From the tribe of Owseecheyo : Ogeese, the micco, or war king ; Neathlouthko, and Ougachi, two chief men ; with three attendants.

From the tribe of the Cheehaws : Outhleteboa, the micco ; Thlauthlo-thlueke, Figeer, Sootamilla, war captains ; and attendants.

From the tribe Echetas : Chutabeeche and Robin, two war captains (the latter was bred amongst the English) ; with four attendants.

From the tribe of Pallachucolas : Gillatee, the head warrior ; and five attendants.

From the tribe of Oconas : Oueekachumpa, called by the English " Long King " ; Coowoo, a warrior.

For the tribe of Eufaula : Tomaumi, the head warrior ; and three attendants.

The Indians being all seated, Oueekachumpa, a very tall old man, stood out, and with a graceful action and a good voice, made a long speech, which was interpreted by Mr. Whiggan and Mr. John Musgrove, and was to the following purpose : He first claimed all the land to the southward of the river Savannah as belonging to the Creek Indians. Next, he said, that though they were poor and ignorant, He who had given the English breath had given them breath also. That He who had made both had given more wisdom to the white men. That they were firmly persuaded that the Great Power which dwelt in heaven and all around (and then he spread out his hands and lengthened the sound of his words), and which hath given breath to all men, had sent the English thither for the instruction of them, their wives, and children. That therefore they gave them up freely their right to all the land which they did not use themselves. That this was not only his opinion, but the opinion of the eight towns of the Creeks, each of whom having consulted together, had sent some of their chief men with skins, which is their wealth. He then stopped, and the chief men of each town brought up a bundle of buck skins and laid eight bundles, from the eight towns, at Mr. Oglethorpe's feet. He then said those were the best thing they had, and therefore they gave them with a good heart. He then thanked him for his kindness to Tomo-chi-chi, micco, and his Indians, to whom he said he was related, and said that though Tomo-chi-chi was banished from his nation, that he was a good man, and had been a great warrior, and it was for his wisdom and courage that the banished men chose him king. Lastly, he said that they had heard in the nation that the Cherokees had killed some Englishmen, and that if he would command them they would enter with their whole force into the Cherokee country, destroy their harvest, kill their people, and revenge the English. He then sat down. Mr. Oglethorpe promised to acquaint the

trustees with their desire of being instructed, and informed them that there had been a report of the Cherokees having killed some Englishmen, but that it was groundless. He thanked them in the most cordial manner for their affection, and told them that he would acquaint the trustees with it.

Tomo-chi-chi, micco, then came in with the Indians of Yamacraw to Mr. Oglethorpe, and bowing very low, he said : " I was a banished man. I came here poor and helpless to look for good land near the tombs of my ancestors, and the trustees sent people here. I feared you would drive us away, for we were weak, and wanted corn ; but you confirmed our land to us, gave us food, and instructed our children. We have already thanked you in the strongest words we could find ; but words are no return for such favors, for good words may be spoke by the deceitful as well as by the upright heart. The chief men of our nation are here to thank you for us, and before them I declare your goodness, and that here I design to die ; for we all love your people so well that with them we will live and die. We don't know good from evil, but desire to be instructed and guided by you, that we may do well with and be numbered amongst the children of the trustees."

He sat down, and Yahou-Lakee, micco of Coweeta, stood up and said : " We are come twenty-five days' journey to see you. I have been often desired to go down to Charlestown, but would not go down because I thought I might die in the way ; but when I heard you were come and that you were good men, I knew you were sent by Him who lives in heaven to teach us Indians wisdom. I therefore came down that I might hear good things, for I knew that if I died in the way I should die in doing good, and what was said would be carried back to the nation and our children would reap the benefit of it. I rejoice that I have lived to see this day, and to see our friends that have been long gone from amongst us. Our nation was once strong, and had ten towns ; but we are now weak, and have but eight towns. You have comforted the banished, and have gathered them that were scattered like little birds before the eagle. We desire, therefore, to be reconciled to our brethren who are here amongst you, and we give leave to Tomo-chi-chi, Stimoiche, and Illispelle to

“call the kindred that love them out of each of the Creek towns
 “that they may come together and make one town. We must
 “pray you to recall the Yamasees, that they may be buried in
 “peace amongst their ancestors, and that they may see their
 “graves before they die, and then our nation shall be restored
 “again to its ten towns.” After which he spoke concerning
 the abatement of the prices of goods, and agreed upon articles
 of a treaty, which were ordered to be engrossed.

Tomo-chi-chi invited them to his town, where they passed
 the night in feasting and dancing.

On the twenty-first their treaty was signed. A laced coat,
 a laced hat, and a shirt was given to each of the Indian chiefs,
 and to each of the warriors a gun, a mantle of duffils, and to
 all their attendants coarse cloth for clothing. There was also
 given a barrel of gunpowder, four kegs of bullets, a piece of
 broadcloth, a piece of Irish linen, a cask of tobacco pipes, eight
 belts, and cutlasses with gilt handles, tape and inkle of all
 colors, and eight kegs of rum, for to be carried home to their
 towns; one pound of powder, one pound of bullets, and as
 much provision for each man as they pleased to take for their
 journey home.

The peace concluded, the care of the people and of carrying
 on the works being recommended to Mr. James St. Julian and
 Mr. Scott, Mr. Oglethorpe left the Savannah on Monday, the
 twenty-first, dined at Mr. Bulloch's, at Willtown, on the twenty-
 second, and arrived here early in the morning on Wednesday,
 the twenty-third.

GENERAL OGLETHORPE'S SPEECH BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, JUNE 9, 1733.

ON Saturday, the ninth of June, 1733, James Oglethorpe,
 Esq., made a very handsome speech to the Hon. Com-
 mons House of Assembly, returning them thanks for the
 encouragement they gave to the settling of Georgia.

It is as follows :

“I should think myself very much wanting in justice and
 gratitude if I should neglect thanking your excellency, you
 gentlemen of the council, and you gentlemen of the assembly,

for the assistance you have given to the colony of Georgia. I have long wished for an opportunity of expressing my sense of the universal zeal which the inhabitants of this province have shown for assisting that colony, and could not think of any better opportunity than now the whole province is virtually present in its general assembly. I am, therefore, gentlemen, to thank you for the handsome assistance given by private people as well as by the public. I am to thank you, not only in the name of the trustees and the little colony now in Georgia, but in behalf of all the distressed people of Britain and persecuted Protestants of Europe, to whom a place of refuge will be secured by this first attempt.

“Your charitable and generous proceeding, besides the self-satisfaction which always attends such actions, will be of the greatest advantage to this province. You, gentlemen, are the best judges of this, since most of you have been personal witnesses of the dangerous blows this country has escaped from French, Spanish, and Indian arms. Many of you know this by experience, having signalized yourselves personally, either when this province by its own strength, and unassisted by everything but the courage of its inhabitants and the providence of God, repulsed the formidable invasions of the French; or, when it defeated the whole body of the southern Indians, who were armed against it, and invaded the Spaniards, who assisted them. You, gentlemen, know there was a time when every day brought fresh advices of murders, ravages, and burnings; when no profession or calling was exempted from arms; when every inhabitant of the province was obliged to leave their wives, their families, their useful occupations, and undergo all the fatigues of war for the necessary defence of the country, and all their endeavors scarcely sufficient to defend the western and southern frontiers against the Indians.

“It would be needless for me to tell you, who are much better judges, how the increasing settlements of the new colony upon the southern frontiers will prevent the like danger for the future. Nor need I tell you how much every plantation will increase in value by the safety of the province’s being increased since the lands to the southward already sell for above double what they did when the new colony first arrived. Nor need I mention the great lessening of the burden of the people by the

increasing of the income of the tax from the many hundred thousand acres of land, either taken or taking up on the prospect of future security. The assistance the assembly has given, though not quite equal to the occasion, is very large with respect to the present circumstances of the province, and as such, shows you to be kind benefactors to your new-come countrymen, whose settlements you support, and dutiful subjects to his majesty, whose revenues and dominions you by that means increase and strengthen.

“As I shall soon return to Europe, I must recommend the infant colony to your farther protection; being assured, both from your generosity and wisdom, that you will in case of any danger and necessity, give them the utmost support and assistance.”

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE LATE WAR, under the Command of COLONELS FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of the lake from Erie to Long Point ; also the crossing of Niagara by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa, the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the author (then a captain) and their treatment ; together with an historical account of the Canadas, by SAMUEL WHITE, of Adams County, Pennsylvania. Baltimore : Published by the Author. B. Edes, Printer ; 1830.

Three hundred signed and numbered copies only of this scarce little book on the WAR OF 1812, printed from type, 1896. A copy will be mailed postpaid on receipt of price, \$1.00, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE LATE WAR, under the Command of COLONELS FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of the lake from Erie to Long Point; also the crossing of Niagara by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa, the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the author (then a captain) and their treatment; together with an historical account of the Canadas, by SAMUEL WHITE, of Adams County, Pennsylvania. Baltimore: Published by the Author. B. Edes, Printer; 1830.

Three hundred signed and numbered copies only of this scarce little book on the WAR OF 1812, printed from type, 1896. A copy will be mailed postpaid on receipt of price, \$1.00, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y.

The Macmillan Company's

WORKS ON HISTORY, POLITICAL ECONOMY, ETC.,

Are listed in a special catalogue. Send for a copy.

An Historical Work of importance, to be complete in four volumes.

American History as Told by Contemporaries.

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Harvard University.

Vol. I. ERA OF COLONIZATION. (1492-1689.) *Almost ready.*

Vol. II. BUILDING OF THE REPUBLIC. (1689-1783.) *In press.*

Vol. III. NATIONAL EXPANSION. (1783-1845.) *To follow.*

Vol. IV. WELDING OF THE NATION. (1846-1896.) *To follow.*

This series is made up entirely from the original sources of American history, the records and narratives of men who witnessed and shared in the events which they describe. Extracts, long enough in each case to give some idea of the writer's style, are arranged in a logical sequence, so as to make up a general account of the times from the first voyages to the present day. To each volume is prefixed a Practical introduction on the use of sources by teachers, students, pupils, libraries, and readers, with a bibliography of the most valuable sources and collections.

The United States of America, 1765-1865.

By EDWARD CHANNING, Ph. D., Professor of History in Harvard University.

12mo, cloth, \$1.50, *net*.

* * *Cambridge Historical Series.* Edited by N. PROTHERO, M. A., Fellow of King's College, and University Lecturer in History.

"We know of no recent historical work which gives better background and perspective. There is a keen sense and appreciation of historical values which is missing from so many recent historical works."—*Boston Daily Advertiser*.

"Worthy to rank with the best brief histories of our country. It is essentially the work of a scholar, and a noteworthy addition to our textbooks on American history."—*Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY,

66 Fifth Avenue, New York.

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER THREE

JULY 1897

A STATE OF THE PROVINCE OF
GEORGIA, ATTESTED UPON
OATH, IN THE COURT OF SAVAN-
NAH, NOVEMBER 10, 1740. LON-
DON: PRINTED FOR W. MEAD-
OWS, AT THE ANGEL IN CORN-
HILL, MDCCXLII.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by
GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER

PROV

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller; or send direct to the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y. The number for August will contain "A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia, in America, from the first settlement thereof until this period; containing the most authentic facts, matters, and transactions therein; together with his Majesty's charter, representations of the people, letters, etc.; and a Dedication to his Excellency General Oglethorpe.—By Pat. Tailfer, M. D., Hugh Anderson, M. D., Da. Douglas, and others, Landholders in Georgia, at present in Charles-town, in South Carolina. Charles-town, South Carolina: Printed by P. Timothy, for the Authors, 1741."

COURT OF SAVANNAH

JUST PUBLISHED.

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS; or the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with Useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER, of COOPERS-TOWN, to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: Printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street; 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction especially written for this new edition by James Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, a great-grandson of Judge Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

A STATE
OF THE
PROVINCE OF GEORGIA

ATTESTED UPON OATH,

IN THE

COURT OF SAVANNAH,

November 10, 1740.

LONDON:

Printed for W. MEADOWS, at the *Angel* in Cornhill,

MDCCXLII.

COLONIAL TRACTS

A STATE OF THE TOWN OF COLONIAL
TRACTS, WITH A HISTORY OF THE
TOWN OF COLONIAL, 1790.

No 3 JULY 1897

COLONIAL TRACTS

Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

A STATE OF THE PROVINCE OF GEORGIA,
ATTESTED UPON OATH, IN THE COURT OF
SAVANNAH, NOVEMBER 10, 1740.

THE province of Georgia lies from the most northern stream of the river Savannah (the mouth of which is in the latitude of 32°) along the sea coast, to the most southern stream of the Alatomaha (the mouth of which is $30\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$) and westward from the heads of the said rivers, respectively, in direct lines to the south seas.

This province was part of South Carolina, but the eastern and southern parts of it inhabited by the Creek Indians; the northern by the Cherokees and Chickesaws; the western by the Choctaws; the Blewmouths and other Indian nations to the South sea. The Creek Indians, always acknowledged the king of England for their sovereign, yet made war with the people of Carolina to obtain satisfaction for injuries done by their pedling traders. The war was concluded by a peace, which obliged the people of Carolina not to settle beyond the river Savannah, and no Englishman was settled within this district that we know of, when the first colony of Georgia arrived. The country was then all covered with woods. Mr. Oglethorpe agreed with the Indians, and purchased of them the limits mentioned in the treaty.

The town of Savannah was laid out and began to be built, in which are now one hundred and forty-two houses and good habitable huts. The soil in general when cleared, is productive of Indian corn, rice, peas, potatoes, pumpkins, melons, and many other kinds of gourds, in great quantities. Wheat, oats, barley, and other European grains, it is found by divers experiments, may be propagated in many parts (more especially in the uplands toward Augusta), with success. Mulberry trees

and vines agree exceeding well with the soil and climate, and so does the annual cotton, whereof large quantities have been raised, and it is much planted; but the cotton which in some parts is perennial, dies here in the winter, which, nevertheless, the annual is not inferior to in goodness, but requires more trouble in cleansing from the seed. Cattle, hogs, poultry, and fruit trees of most kinds, have increased even beyond imagination.

Ships of about three hundred tons can come up to the town, where the worm (which is the plague of the American seas), does not eat, and the river is navigable for large boats as far as the town of Augusta, which lies in the latitude of $33^{\circ} 5'$, and is 250 miles distant from Savannah by water; small boats can go three hundred miles further, to the Cherokees.

There is already a considerable trade in the river, and there is in this town a court-house, a jail, a storehouse, a large house for receiving the Indians, a wharf or bridge, a guard-house, and some other public buildings; a public garden of ten acres cleared, fenced, and planted with orange trees, mulberry trees, vines, some olives, which thrive very well, peaches, apples, etc.

It must be confessed that oranges have not so universally thriven with us as was expected, by reason of some severe blasts by frosts in the spring, yet divers with proper care have preserved them, and as we see them grow and thrive well with many of our neighbors of Carolina to the northward, we are convinced that they will with us also, as soon as we are become more perfect in the knowledge of propagating them in a right manner, in order to which frequent experiments are making, and we have already discovered not only what kind of soil agrees best with them, but also that they flourish most when they grow under forest trees, whereby we imagine they are protected from blasts, and it is observed that they take no harm from the droppings of any except the pine, which suffers nothing to grow near it unless of its own kind.

Notwithstanding the quantity of silk hitherto made has not been great, yet it increases, and will more and more considerably as the mulberry trees grow, whereof there are great numbers yearly planted.

Vines likewise of late are greatly increased, many people appearing to have an emulation of outdoing their neighbors,

and this year has produced a considerable quantity of very fine grapes, whereof one planter in particular made a trial to see what kind of wine they would make, which he put into a large stone bottle and made a present of it to the general, who, upon tasting, said he found it to be something of the nature of a small French white wine, with an agreeable flavor ; and several persons here who have lived formerly in countries where there are a plenty of vineyards, do affirm that all young vines produce small wines at first, and the strength and goodness of it increases as the vines grow older.

Three miles up the river there is an Indian town, and at six miles distance are several considerable plantations. At ten miles distance are some more, and at fifteen miles distance is a little village called Abercorn.

Above that, on the Carolina side, is the town of Purysburgh, twenty-two miles from Savannah ; and on the Georgia side, twelve miles from Purysburgh, is the town of Ebenezer, which thrives very much ; there are very good houses built for each of the ministers, and an orphan house, and they have partly framed houses and partly huts. neatly built, and formed into regular streets ; they have a great deal of cattle and corn ground, so that they sell provisions at Savannah, for they raise much more than they can consume.

Thirty miles above Ebenezer, on the Carolina side, lies the Palachocolas fort ; five miles above the Palachocolas, on the Georgia side, lies the Euchee town (or Mount Pleasant), to which about a hundred Indians belong ; but few of them stay now in the town, they choosing rather to live dispersed. All the land from Ebenezer to the river Briers belongs to those Indians, who will not part with the same, therefore it cannot be planted.

One hundred and forty-four miles above Mount Pleasant, on the Carolina side, is Silver Bluff, where there is another settlement of Euchee Indians. On both sides of the river are fields of corn planted by them.

Thirty miles above Silver Bluff is New Windsor, formerly known by the name of Savannah town, or Moore's Fort, where there are but two or three families on the Carolina side and a small fort.

Seven miles above New Windsor on the Georgia side, lies

the town of Augusta, just below the falls ; this was laid out by the trustees' orders in the year 1735, which has thriven prodigiously ; there are several warehouses thoroughly well furnished with goods for the Indian trade, and five large boats belonging to the different inhabitants of the town, which can carry about nine or ten thousand weight of deer skins each, making four or five voyages at least in a year to Charlestown, for exporting to England, and the value of each cargo is computed to be from £1200 to £1500 sterling. Hither all the English traders with their servants, resort in the spring, and it is computed above two thousand horses come thither at that season, and the traders, pack-horse men, servants, townsmen, and others, depending upon that business, are moderately computed to be six hundred white men, who live by their trade, carrying upon pack-horses all kinds of proper English goods, for which the Indians pay in deer skins, beaver, and other furs. Each Indian hunter is reckoned to get three hundred weight of deer skins in a year. This is a very advantageous trade to England, since it is mostly paid for in woolen and iron.

Above this town to the northwest and on the Georgia side of the river, the Cherokees live, in the valley of the Appelachin mountains ; they were about five thousand warriors, but last year, it is computed, they lost a thousand, partly by the small-pox and partly (as they themselves say), by too much rum brought from Carolina. The French are striving to get this nation from us, which, if they do, Carolina must be supported by a vast number of troops, or lost. But as long as we keep the town of Augusta our party in the Cherokees can be so easily furnished with arms, ammunition, and necessaries, that the French will not be able to gain any ground there.

The Creek Indians live to the westward of this town. Their chief town is the Cowetas, two hundred miles from Augusta, and one hundred and twenty miles from the nearest French fort. The Lower Creeks consist of about a thousand, and the Upper Creeks of about seven hundred warriors, upon the edge of whose country the French fort of Albamahs lies. They are esteemed to be sincerely attached to his majesty's interest.

Beyond the Creeks lie the brave Chickesaws, who inhabit near the Mississippi river and possess the banks of it. These

have resisted both the bribes and arms of the French, and traders sent by us live amongst them.

At Augusta there is a handsome fort, where there is a small garrison of about twelve or fifteen men, besides officers, and one reason that drew the traders to settle the town of Augusta was the safety they received from this fort, which stands upon high ground on the side of the river Savannah, which is there one hundred and forty yards wide and very deep: another reason was the richness and fertility of the land. The great value of this town of Augusta occasioned the general to have a path marked out through the woods from thence to Old Ebenezer, and the Cherokee Indians have marked out one from thence to their nation, so that horsemen now can ride from the town of Savannah to the nation of Cherokees, and any other of the Indian nations all on the Georgia side of the river, but there are some bad places which ought to be causewayed and made good, and which the general says he has not yet capacity to do. This road begins to be frequented, and will every day be more and more so, and by it the Cherokee Indians can at any time come down to our assistance.

At Old Ebenezer there is a cow-pen, where the trustees have a great number of cattle, and it is hoped with care they will amount to six or seven hundred head in another year. But they were much neglected, there not being horses or men sufficient to drive up the young and outlying cattle.

This is the situation of the settlements upon the river at the mouth of which lies the island of Tybee, with the lighthouse, which has been of the greatest use to all ships falling in with this part of America. But from Savannah southward there are several plantations (besides the villages of Hampstead and Highgate), several of which are settled by such of the inhabitants of the town as being able to purchase cattle, have petitioned for leases of lands and are settled upon those lands by the general's permission until the trustees' pleasure be known concerning the leases. The terms they propose is the lease to be for twenty-one years, renewable every seven years, upon paying one year's purchase of the improved value; the first seven years to be free and no fine paid for the first renewal. Besides these settlements there are some others of five hundred acres per grant from the trust, which extend as far as the

Ogeechee river, upon which river lies Fort Argyll, in such a situation as is intended thereby to command all the passes in that part of the province.

The next is Darien, where the Scots Highlanders are settled; the buildings are mostly huts, but tight and warm, and they have a little fort. They have been industrious in planting, and have got into driving of cattle for the supply of the regiment, etc., but this last year most of them going voluntarily into the war, little was done at home, where their families remained.

Below the town of Darien is the town of Frederica, where there is a strong fort and storehouses, many good buildings in the town, some of which are brick; there is a meadow near adjoining, that is ditched in, of about three hundred and twenty acres, of which there is good hay made. The people have not planted much there this year, occasioned by the war so near their doors, and being chiefly tradesmen, who make more by working or selling to the camp than they can by planting. There are some little villages upon the island of St. Simon's, and some very handsome houses built by the officers of the regiment, and there has been pot herbs, pulse, and fruit produced upon the island of great use towards supplying the town and garrison; but corn, beer, and meat they have from elsewhere.

Between this island and Jekyll island is an inlet of the sea, called Jekyll sound, which is a very fine harbor, and is one of the best entries the English have to the southward of Virginia. This is an excellent station for ships to cruise on the Spaniards, it commanding the homeward bound trade, which must come through the Gulf of Florida, and near St. Simon's; the entry lies in $31^{\circ} 10'$. The place is barred, but upon the bar there is water sufficient every tide to carry in twenty-gun ships, and taking the best opportunity, forty-gun ships may be carried in to refit—a great convenience to a squadron in this place. Upon Jekyll island there is but very little good land, not above three or four hundred acres, the rest being sandy sea beach. Mr. Horton has his lot upon this island, and has made great improvements there. To the southward of Jekyll lies the island of Cumberland and the fort of St. Andrew's, situated upon a fine commanding ground, and on the southeast of the same island is another strong fort, called Fort William, which commands

Amelia sound and the inland passage from Augustine. The next island is Amelia, beyond that is St. John's, one of the Spanish outguards, and between forty and fifty miles from that is Augustine.

We are now fully acquainted with the colony and what it will produce ; the inland part is hilly till it rises into mountains, where all kinds of timber grow. Near the sea the ground is more level and flat, where laurels, cedars, cypress, bays, and live oak are of the size of timber trees. Among the shrubs some of the principal are pomegranates, which will grow well in hedges, myrtle, prickly pears, shumach, sassafras, china root, several sorts of snake root, etc. There is commonly black mold in the low lands, the rising ground is frequently clay, where oak and hickory mostly grow, as it also does in a great part of the flat land that is dry, where walnut, ash, gum tree, oak of several kinds, hickory, beech, wild cherry, etc., are in great plenty to be found. The higher lands are of a sandy surface, where pines usually grow, all parts producing trees of some kind or other, except the Savannahs and marshes, which bear grass, and many of the lowland swamps covered with canes, which are excellent feed for cattle in the winter. Where the oak and hickory grow the soil is in general of a strong nature and very well esteemed for planting, being found by experience to produce the best crops of Indian corn and most sorts of grain, except rice, which thrives best in swampy ground. This is only spoken of the lower parts of Georgia, which reaches from the seashore to the foot of the hills, being a flat country of sixty or seventy miles or more in breadth. The hill country is very different, there being marble, chalk, gravel, rocks, and all the same variety of soil that is in Europe ; with respect to the proportion of the different kinds of soil it cannot be given, unless the whole were surveyed ; but the American dialect distinguishes land into pine, oak, and hickory, swamp, savannah, and marsh. Near the town of Savannah we have found stone, which is dug for building ; as there is also good clay, whereof bricks are made, and a pottery work is carried on with success, where common ware for most uses is made in good plenty and exported to the neighboring provinces, and the master, who is of an enterprising genius, has undertaken, as soon as he has made proper furnaces, to make

a superfine sort of such as shall not be inferior to porcelain itself ; but a little time will discover his further performances.

The coast is low, with a hard, sandy beach. When we approach it at twenty-five leagues distance, we find ground in twenty-five fathom water, and it shoals gradually to the shore, the sounding being so regular makes it a safe coast to fall in with, having good anchoring all along and no rocks. The mouths of the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha make a great number of islands, and the entries between them form good harbors. To the southward of Tybee are the following entries : viz., Wassaw, Ossebah, St. Catharine's, Sapello, Doboy, St. Simon's, which is the north entry to Frederica ; Jekyll sound, which is the south entry to Frederica, to which place the channel is navigable, from the ordinary place of anchoring in the sound for ships of a good burden up to the town.

The staple of the country of Georgia being presumed and intended to be principally silk and wine, every year confirms more our hopes of succeeding in those two, from the great increase (as has been before observed) of the vines and mulberry trees, wherein perseverance only can bring it to perfection. Several other things might be produced, and perhaps more immediately profitable to the planters, but it is apprehended that it is not any business of this colony nor any benefit to the trade of England to interfere with what other English plantations have produced, such as rice, etc.

As the boundaries of the colony are now known, together with the climate and manner of agriculture, more might be done henceforward in one year than could in several years before we attained to that knowledge, but our people are weak, being decreased by great numbers having been decoyed away to other colonies ; many having taken to idleness, upon shutting up the store, went away ; but those who stayed and now remain, are still a body of the most valuable people that find means to live comfortably ; some by their trades, some by planting and raising live stock, and some by their labor, either by land or water, and one of those remaining is worth three that left us for such work ; and if an embarkation was to come in with the next year, it would be of great service to the colony, the Saltzburghers wishing for more of their countrymen, and having been very industrious.

The persons sent from England on the charity were of the unfortunate, many of whom have by their industry proved that they deserved better, and have thriven; many also showed they were brought into these misfortunes by their own faults, and when those who quitted their own country to avoid labor, saw labor stand before their eyes in Georgia they were easily persuaded to live in Carolina by cunning rather than work. This has been a great misfortune also upon many persons who brought over servants indentured to serve them for a certain number of years, who, being picked up in the streets of London, or some such manner, their masters found them unfit for labor, and many of them took such opportunities as they could get to desert and fly into Carolina, where they could be protected. Indeed, good and bad which came from England, were mostly inhabitants of towns there; but such seldom turn out good husbandmen with their own hands, yet some of them proved very useful in a new colony, since they most readily compose towns, which is the first thing necessary to be a receptacle for new comers; and from thence, when all demands of labor for building and trade are supplied, the laborious people may enlarge into the country and raise provisions for the use of the towns. Whereas, if the first were all laboring countrymen, they would naturally disperse to the most fertile land, and, perhaps, succeed for a while, but for want of neighborhood and markets, would force most of them to remove, and the country remain little or nothing the better improved, as it happened in Virginia, till the government with great difficulty, at last raised towns in that province.

It ought not here to be passed over, how ready the country is to receive a number of German families accustomed to husbandry, such as usually come once a year down the Rhine to Holland and embark thence for America or the East Indies; some of these we have already had experience of, insomuch that the people here would take off a good number of them; and it would be of great service (as we apprehend), to this colony, at present, to send a ship over laden with Germans on the same terms Mr. Hope does to Philadelphia, only taking care that provisions for them on their passage be more plentiful, and that they are less crowded than on board his ships. The terms are, they pay half their passage themselves on embark-

ing, and six weeks after their arrival, to pay the other half, which they generally do, with private contracts to people ; but in case they do not, then they may be bound by the ship's master for four or five years, if they are above twenty-one years of age ; but if under, they may be bound until the age of twenty-one if men, and eighteen if girls. It must be at the same time confessed that divers of these foreigners have, during the time of their servitude, shown themselves of a dogged disposition, surly and obstinate, discovering an averseness to their masters' orders, which proceeds (as we imagine), from a dislike of their being subject to strangers, whilst others again have behaved well ; but it may be alleged with truth, that when or wheresoever among us any of them have worked for their own benefit, they are indefatigable and out-done by none, which, joined with great parsimony, fits them for excellent settlers when free.

To enable the industrious English settlers to go on with planting, who are truly desirous of cultivating land, we humbly conceive nothing could be a greater inducement to it, than that the honorable trustees would please to import yearly, so long as they see good, a number of English or Welsh servants, such as are used to hard labor in the country, and strangers to London, to be contracted with in England to serve the trustees for five years, from two to four pounds yearly wages, according to their ability, for finding themselves in apparel. Those servants, on their arrival, to be hired by the inhabitants for one year, the person hiring to pay over and above the contracted wages, one pound yearly to the trustees, so that in five years the passage money will be paid. And to enable the planters to pay the said wages, it is humbly proposed that a bounty be settled on every product of the land ; viz., corn, peas, potatoes, wine, silk, cotton, flax, etc., to what value the honorable trust shall judge meet to be limited in the following, or any other manner, viz. : For the first — years the said bounty to be payable for corn, peas, potatoes, etc., only, and thenceforward to cease wholly, and the residue of years wherein any bounty should be allowed, to be payable only for silk, wine, oil, etc., by which means the planter so assisted might be able to live, whilst at the same time he propagates vines, mulberry trees, etc., from which he can expect no immediate benefit before

they come to some maturity. A rule to be made that they who hire the said servants shall employ them only in plantation work of their own, and not let them out at hire to work at handicraft trades, or any other business, etc. That each servant shall serve one whole year, and if they part at the year's end, he shall find himself another master within — days to serve for one year also, and so on to the end of their respective times to serve, by which means good masters will not want good servants, and it will be a great means to make other masters become good, in order to get good servants, or else be content with the bad, or none. If any disputes arise between masters and servants, such to be determined by the magistrates according to the laws of England, wherein the magistrate concerned as a party shall not appear as a judge, or offer to interfere with the opinion of the others, but acquiesce in their determination, if it happens to be in favor of the servant, whom they ought to defend from cruel usage; and where they find such evil treatment, either through too severe correction or want of sufficient wholesome food, according to the custom of the colony, the magistrates to have power of vacating such service, and obliging the servants to find another master.

The kind intention of the honorable trustees to extend the tenure of lands in the manner proposed (as signified to their secretary here), gave great satisfaction to all reasonable persons who seemed to desire no more, and only wish to find that ratified, which they apprehend to be not yet done, and that occasions some anxiety about it.

Whether these helps, or whatever other the honorable trustees shall be pleased to afford us, the ability of the inhabitants to support themselves must still in a great measure depend on the industry and frugality of each. Divers in the province who understand planting, and are already settled, provided they can attain to some live stock, can and do support themselves. Men working for hire, boatmen, pack-horse men, etc., support themselves very well, if they will work, and more such would, were they to be found. Shopkeepers, tradesmen, and artificers, such as tallowchandlers, soapboilers, brasiers, sadlers, shoemakers, tanners, etc., live very well on their business here, and many more might, were there more merchants to import goods for supplying the Indian traders, which would

increase the resort to Savannah, whereas those traders are now obliged to get the greatest part of what they want from Charlestown in Carolina. New planters, and such as go on upon particular improvements, such as wine, silk, etc., will need some assistance. Magistrates, constables, and tything men, and others whose time is taken up in the public service, require some allowance for the same. It is also needful for the well-being of the colony, that roads should be maintained, posts for communicating of letters, and forts upon the frontiers, as well towards the Indians as Spaniards, be supported. As, likewise, other public works which the people here are in no degree able to bear.

When the east part of the province of Georgia was taken possession of under the trustees' charter by Mr. Oglethorpe, according to the limits of the British dominions in America, forts were erected upon the extremities to keep up marks of possession. The strength and materials were of such a nature as the men he had with him could make, and sufficient for defense against any strength that could be brought against them by the neighboring Indians, or Spaniards in Florida.

The first foundation of the colony was upon tenures, by which each lot was to be occupied by a freeholder, obliged to take arms for the defense of the colony; and this militia, with the assistance of our friendly Indians, held the colony against all attempts of the Spaniards from Augustine, who alarmed them almost every spring, pretending a claim, and therefore a right to invade, without being said to infringe the peace, but did not take one foot of ground from us.

In the beginning of the year 1738, great preparations were made at the Havannah, and troops were sent from thence and Old Spain to Augustine for the taking possession (as they called it), of that part of Carolina in which Georgia was comprehended, and which they gave out belonged to them. Upon the trustees having early notice of these great preparations, they applied to his majesty to take upon him the protection of the colony, which in its infancy was unable to repel so great a force. His majesty thereupon ordered a regiment to be raised and posted on the Spanish frontiers, since which the war is broke out, and that regiment, with the assistance of troops and Indians raised in Georgia and Carolina, in

conjunction with a squadron of men-of-war, attacked Augustine, and after raising the siege of that place, remained in the possession of the frontiers as before the war; but for the defense of the colony now, it is necessary to have vessels that can act in shoal water, on so large and extended a frontier towards the sea, and rangers who can ride the woods; as also, artillery, and all other things necessarily appertaining thereto, and means for augmenting our fortifications equal to the increased strength of the Spaniards.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, being duly sworn in open court, do declare that the above state of the province of Georgia is true, according to the best of our knowledge, and from the most certain informations we could obtain from others, and do desire that the seal of this Court may be affixed thereto :

* Pat. Graham,	George Johnson,
* Jos. Fitzwalter,	Samuel Parker,
* James Carwells,	Thomas Palmer,
* Thomas Upton,	William Stephens,
* Giles Becu,	Henry Parker,
* Thomas Egerton,	Thomas Jones,
* Thomas Cundell,	Samuel Mercer,
Anthony Camuse,	James Campbell,
John Burton,	John Rae,
Jos. Pavey,	Noble Jones,
Robert Hainks,	Thomas Young,
John Mellidge,	Thomas Ellis,

Tho. Bayley (Smith).

Savannah, Nov 10, 1740.

* N. B.—Those seven marked with * at their own voluntary desire, were admitted to sign it, and were sworn before the magistrates out of court.

THE DEPOSITION OF LIEUT. GEORGE DUNBAR,
TAKEN UPON THE HOLY EVANGELISTS, BEFORE THE RECORDER
OF THE TOWN OF FREDERICA, JANUARY 20, 1738-9.

THIS deponent says that he arrived in Georgia the beginning of June last with the first detachment of General Oglethorpe's regiment, and from that time to the beginning of August all the carpenters of the said three companies, and a certain number of other soldiers, were employed in building clapboard huts for the said companies, and the other soldiers were employed in unloading vessels and boats loaded with clapboards and other necessities for building, and provisions of different kinds, often up to their necks in water. They were also employed in carrying clapboards, etc., upon their backs to the camp, in clearing ground from roots of trees, etc., for a parade, burning the wood and rubbish upon it, carrying off bricks, and burning lime. And the artists who were excused from these works, wrought at their own trades without standing still by reason of heat. The hours of labor were from daylight till between eleven and twelve, and from between one and two and sometimes between two and three till dark. All that time the men kept so healthy that often no man in the camp ailed in the least, and none died except one man, who came sick on board, and never worked at all; nor did I hear that any of the men ever made the heat a pretense for not working.

And this deponent further says, that he has been often in America, and frequently heard that in the negro colonies the hire of white men is more than that of negroes. And this deponent knows that in South Carolina white ship carpenters and caulkers have about one-third more wages than a negro of the same trade or profession, this deponent having often paid wages to both; and also knows there is the aforesaid difference in many handicrafts, and verily believes it is so in all, and affirms that the same is owing to the white men exceeding the negroes in the same professions, both in quantity and quality of their work.

GEORGE DUNBAR.

Sworn before me the day and year above written.

FRANCIS MOORE.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. THOS. JONES

AT SAVANNAH IN GEORGIA, TO THE TRUSTEES ACCOMPTANT,
DATED JULY, 1, 1741.

THE trustees' German servants in general behave well, and are industrious. Of these, eight or ten families are more remarkably so, and have this last year purchased a good stock of cattle, some having six cows, the least two, and each having a garden, where they raise some corn, peas, pumpkins, potatos, etc., which, with the milk of their cows, is the chief part of their food. They are at little expense in clothing, but this exposes them to the envy and hatred of our negro-mongers and such who seek the extirpation of the colony, as well as of the drunken, idle sort amongst us.

I am informed by Francis Harris and William Russell (who are very conversant with them and can talk the German tongue), that they have lately joined in a letter written and sent to their friends and acquaintances in Germany, persuading them to come to Georgia, where they may, by their industry, live in greater plenty and more comfortably than they can elsewhere.

These servants are very desirous that (when the time of their service is expired), they may have lands allotted them within twelve or fifteen miles of Savannah, where they may bring things by land carriage in a vicinage, and that they may make one common fence (as the people of Ebenezer have done) and be assisting to one another.

 THE COPY OF A LETTER

FROM THE REVEREND MR. FREDRICK MICHAEL ZIEGENHAGEN,
GERMAN CHAPLAIN TO HIS MAJESTY, DATED AT KENSINGTON,
JANUARY 11, 1741-2, AND SENT TO THE TRUSTEES FOR
ESTABLISHING THE COLONY OF GEORGIA IN AMERICA.

Gentlemen:

HAVING seen paragraphs in print representing the Saltzburghers as being uneasy with their settlement at Ebenezer in Georgia, and desirous to remove therefrom, and fearing such reports (if credited), might give just offense to

your honors, their guardians, as well as to their benefactors in Germany, and thereby deprive them from having yours, and their favors continued, I thought it my indispensable duty to acquaint your honors that by all the letters and journals I have received since their settlement at New Ebenezer, they have expressed quite different sentiments, and not to trouble you with many particulars, I beg leave herewith to inclose you two extracts of the latest accounts I received from them in November last.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER

FROM THE REVEREND MR. BOLTZIUS AT EBENEZER, DATED JULY 23, 1741, TO THE REVEREND DR. FRANCKE, PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AT HALL.

“TOGETHER with these spiritual blessings and the salutary effect of the Word of God to the conversion of many souls, we enjoy also this year, by the mercy of God, many temporal good things.

“The present war and the burden of it hath not affected us yet, and we do not feel the least of it, and in the great dearth the colony suffered last year we have not been in want of necessary provisions. As to the present year we have a very hopeful prospect of a good harvest; everything in the fields and gardens growing so delightful as our eyes hardly have seen in this country before. *If Isaac, by the blessing of the Lord, received from what he had sowed an hundred fold, I believe, I dare say, to the praise of the great mercy of God over us, our Saltzburghers will get thousand fold, notwithstanding that the corn when it came out of the ground was eaten quite up two or three times by the worms, of which nobody can hardly form a right idea except he sees it with his own eyes. Wheat, rice, and other grains must be sowed very thin, because each grain brings forth fifty, an hundred or more stalks and ears. The land is really very fruitful, if the sins of the inhabitants and the curse of God for such sins doth not eat it up, which was formerly the unhappy case of the blessed land of Canaan.

* Genesis xxvi. 12.

“And I am heartily sorry to acquaint you that I do not find
 “in some of the inhabitants of the colony a due thankfulness
 “for and contentment with the many benefits bestowed on them
 “for several years together, although those who are industrious
 “and will labor for their maintenance, may, as we do, live
 “contentedly and subsist under the blessing of God, promised by
 “St. Paul (Hebrews xiii. 5): ‘I will never leave thee nor
 “forsake thee.’ Which blessing the idle and unthankful are
 “not intitled to.”

EXTRACT OUT OF THE JOURNAL OF MR. BOLTZIUS,
 MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT EBENEZER IN GEORGIA.

“THE tenth of August, 1741. We have this year plenty of
 peaches, and as this fruit doth not keep, some of our
 “people try to make a certain sort of brandy of them, others give
 “them to the swine. This is more than anybody could have
 “promised to himself or others some years ago. Even at this
 “time, when I am writing this, a man brings a large dish of
 “blue grapes to me, grown wild in the woods; they are of a
 “sweet taste and pretty like our European grapes, that I am
 “very apt to believe the wild vine trees, if properly managed,
 “would give good wine. Thanks be to our gracious God who
 “gives us here every good thing for our support.

“The ninth of September, 1741. Some time ago I wrote
 “to an honored friend in Europe that the land in this country
 “if well managed and labored, brings forth, by the blessing
 “of God, not only hundred fold, but thousand fold, and I this
 “day was confirmed therein. A woman having two years
 “ago picked out of Indian corn, brought to Purysburgh, no
 “more than three grains of rye (called here German corn),
 “and planting them here at Ebenezer, one of these grains
 “produced an hundred and seventy stalks and ears, and the
 “three grains yielded to her a bag of corn as large as a coat-
 “pocket, the grains whereof were good and full grown, and
 “she desired me to send part of them to a kind benefactor in
 “Europe. One of our Saltzburghers brought to me also a like
 “bag of beans all grown out of one bean.

“True it is, notwithstanding the fertility of the land, the
 “first tillagers of it must undergo and struggle with great

"difficulties, but them that come after them will reap the benefit thereof, if they go on to do their labor in the fear of God.

"The land is able to provide every good thing, and more particularly is pasturage very plenteous."

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE
LATE WAR, under the Command of COLONELS
FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of
the lake from Erie to Long Point; also the crossing of Niagara
by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and
Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa,
the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Gallows, and the
author (then a captain) and their treatment; together with an
historical account of the Canadas, by SAMUEL WHITE, of
Adams County, Pennsylvania. Baltimore: Published by the
Author. B. Edes, Printer; 1830.

Three hundred signed and numbered copies only of this
scarce little book on the WAR OF 1812, printed from type,
1896. A copy will be mailed postpaid on receipt of price,
\$1.00, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange
Street, Rochester, N. Y.

Price in Cloth

Price in Trade

Printed by

GEORGE P. HUMPHREY

ROCHESTER

Copyright, 1896, by George P. Humphrey

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER FOUR

AUGUST 1897

A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia, in America, from the first settlement thereof until this period; containing the most authentic facts, matters, and transactions therein; together with his Majesty's charter, representations of the people, letters, etc.; and a Dedication to his Excellency General Oglethorpe.—By Pat. Tailfer, M. D., Hugh Anderson, M. A., Da. Douglas, and others, Landholders in Georgia, at present in Charles-town, in South Carolina. Charles-town, South Carolina: Printed by P. Timothy, for the Authors, 1741.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by

GEORGE P HUMPHREY

ROCHESTER

Foreign Agents, GAY & BIRD, London, England.

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER FOUR

AUGUST 1897

A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia, in America, from the first settlement thereof until this period; containing the most authentic facts, matters, and transactions therein; together with his Majesty's charter, representations of the people, letters, etc.; and a Dedication to his Excellency General Oglethorpe.—By Pat. Tailfer, M. D., Hugh Anderson, M. A., Da. Douglas, and others, Landholders in Georgia, at present in Charles-town, in South Carolina. Charles-town, South Carolina: Printed by P. Timothy, for the Authors, 1741.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by

GEORGE P HUMPHREY

ROCHESTER

Foreign Agents, GAY & BIRD, London, England.

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for Europe and the Colonies. The number for September will contain "An Account showing the Progress of the Colony in Georgia in America, from its First Establishment. Published per order of the Honorable Trustees. London: Printed in the year MDCCXLI—Maryland: Reprinted and sold by Jonas Green, at his Printing Office, in Annapolis, 1742."

JUST PUBLISHED.

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS; or the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with Useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER, of COOPERS-TOWN, to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: Printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street; 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction especially written for this new edition by James Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, a great-grandson of Judge Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

A TRUE AND HISTORICAL

NARRATIVE

OF THE

COLONY OF GEORGIA

IN AMERICA,

From the First Settlement Thereof until this Present Period.
Containing the most Authentic Facts, Matters, and
Transactions therein ; together with his Majesty's
Charter, Representations of the People,
Letters, etc., and a

DEDICATION TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

BY

PAT. TAILFER, M. D.,
HUGH ANDERSON, M. A.,
DA. DOUGLAS, AND OTHERS,

Landholders in Georgia, at present in Charles-Town in
South Carolina.

— Qui Deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti,
Duramq; callet Pauperiemq; pati,
Pejusq; Letho Flagitium timer,
Non ille pro caris Amicis
Aut Patria timidus Perire.

H. 4 O.

CHARLES-TOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA :
Printed by P. TIMOTHY, for the Authors,

1741.

No 4 AUGUST 1897

COLONIAL TRACTS

Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY

ROCHESTER N Y

DEDICATION.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES OGLETHORPE, ESQ. ; GENERAL
AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES
IN SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA: AND ONE OF THE
HONORABLE TRUSTEES FOR ESTABLISHING THE COLONY
OF GEORGIA IN AMERICA, ETC.

May it please your Excellency:

AS the few surviving remains of the colony of Georgia find it necessary to present the world, and in particular Great Britain, with a true state of that province, from its first rise to its present period, your excellency (of all mankind) is best entitled to the dedication, as the principal author of its present strength and affluence, freedom and prosperity. And though incontestable truths will recommend the following narrative to the patient and attentive reader, yet your name, sir, will be no little ornament to the frontispiece, and may possibly engage some courteous perusers a little beyond it.

That dedication and flattery are synonymous, is the complaint of every dedicator, who concludes himself ingenuous and fortunate, if he can discover a less trite and direct method of flattering than is usually practiced; but we are happily prevented from the least intention of this kind by the repeated offerings of the muses and news-writers to your excellency in the public papers. It were presumptuous even to dream of equaling or increasing them. We therefore flatter ourselves that nothing we can advance will in the least shock your excellency's modesty; not doubting but your goodness will pardon any deficiency of elegance and politeness on account of our sincerity, and the serious truth we have the honor to approach you with.

We have seen the ancient custom of sending forth colonies for the improvement of any distant territory, or new acquisition, continued down to ourselves, but to your excellency alone it is owing that the world is made acquainted with a plan highly refined from those of all former projectors. They fondly imagined it necessary to communicate to such young settle-

ments the fullest rights and properties, all the immunities of their mother countries, and privileges rather more extensive. By such means, indeed, these colonies flourished with early trade and affluence; but your excellency's concern for our perpetual welfare could never permit you to propose such transitory advantages for us. You considered riches like a divine and philosopher, as the *irritamenta malorum*, and knew that they were disposed to inflate weak minds with pride, to pamper the body with luxury, and introduce a long variety of evils. Thus have you protected us from ourselves, as Mr. Waller says, by keeping all earthly comforts from us. You have afforded us the opportunity of arriving at the integrity of the primitive times by intailing a more than primitive poverty on us. The toil that is necessary to our bare subsistence must effectually defend us from the anxieties of any further ambition. As we have no properties to feed vainglory and beget contention, so we are not puzzled with any system of laws to ascertain and establish them. The valuable virtue of humility is secured to us by your care to prevent our procuring, or so much as seeing, any negroes (the only human creatures proper to improve our soil), lest our simplicity might mistake the poor Africans for greater slaves than ourselves. And that we might fully receive the spiritual benefit of those wholesome austerities, you have wisely denied us the use of such spirituous liquors as might in the least divert our minds from the contemplation of our happy circumstances.

Our subject swells upon us, and did we allow ourselves to indulge our inclination, without considering our weak abilities, we should be tempted to launch out into many of your excellency's extraordinary endowments, which do not so much regard the affair in hand; but as this would lead us beyond the bounds of a dedication, so would it engross a subject too extensive for us, to the prejudice of other authors and panegyrists. We shall therefore confine ourselves to that remarkable scene of your conduct, whereby Great Britain in general, and the settlers of Georgia in particular, are laid under such inexpressible obligations.

Be pleased then, great sir, to accompany our heated imaginations in taking a view of this colony of Georgia! this child of your auspicious politics! arrived at the utmost vigor of its

constitution, at a term when most former states have been struggling through the convulsions of their infancy. This early maturity, however, lessens our admiration, that your excellency lives to see (what few founders ever aspired after) the great decline and almost final termination of it. So many have finished their course during the progress of the experiment, and such numbers have retreated from the phantoms of poverty and slavery which their cowardly imaginations pictured to them, that you may justly vaunt with the boldest hero of them all.

. . . . Like death you reign
O'er silent subjects and a desert plain.—*Busittis*.

Yet must your enemies, if you have any, be reduced to confess that no ordinary statesman could have digested in the like manner, so capacious a scheme, such a copious jumble of power and politics. We shall content ourselves with observing that all those beauteous models of government which the little states of Germany exercise, and those extensive liberties which the Boors of Poland enjoy, were designed to concenter in your system, and were we to regard the modes of government, we must have been strangely unlucky to have missed of the best, where there was the appearance of so great a variety, for under the influence of our perpetual dictator, we have seen something like aristocracy, oligarchy, as well as the triumviratè, decemvirate, and consular authority of famous republics, which have expired many ages before us. What wonder, then, we share the same fate? Do their towns and villages exist but in story and rubbish? We are all over ruins; our public works, fountains, wells, highways, lighthouse, store, and water-mills, etc., are dignified like theirs, with the same venerable desolation. The log house indeed, is like to be the last forsaken spot of your empire; yet even this, through the death or desertion of those who should continue to inhabit it must suddenly decay; the bankrupt jailer himself shall be soon denied the privilege of human conversation, and when this last moment of the spell expires, the whole shall vanish like the illusion of some eastern magician.

But let not this solitary prospect impress your excellency with any fears of having your services to mankind, and to the settlers of Georgia in particular, buried in oblivion; for if

we diminutive authors are allowed to prophesy (as you know poets in those cases formerly did) we may confidently presage that while the memoirs of America continue to be read in English, Spanish, or the language of the Scots Highlanders, your excellency's exploits and epocha will be transmitted to prosperity.

Should your excellency apprehend the least tincture of flattery in anything already hinted, we may sincerely assure you we intended nothing that our sentiments did not very strictly attribute to your merit; and in such sentiments we have the satisfaction of being fortified by all persons of impartiality and discernment.

But to trespass no longer on those minutes which your excellency may suppose more significantly employed on the sequel, let it suffice at present, to assure you that we are deeply affected with your favors, and though unable of ourselves properly to acknowledge them, we shall embrace every opportunity of recommending you to higher powers, who, we are hopeful, will reward your excellency according to your merit.

May it please your excellency,

Your excellency's most devoted servants,

THE LAND HOLDERS OF GEORGIA,

Authors of the following narrative.

PREFACE.

THE colony of Georgia has afforded so much subject of conversation to the world, that it is not to be questioned but a true and impartial account of it, from its first settlement to its present period, will be generally agreeable, and the more so, that the subject has hitherto been so much disguised and misrepresented in pamphlets, poems, gazettes, and journals.

If it is asked why this narrative has not been published to the world sooner, we assign two reasons which, we doubt not, will be satisfactory.

First, a number of honorable gentlemen accepted the charge of trustees for executing the purposes in his majesty's most gracious charter, gentlemen whose honor and integrity we never did, nor yet do, call in question; but, to our great misfortune, none of that honorable body (excepting Mr. Oglethorpe) ever had opportunity of viewing the situation and circumstances of the colony, and judging for themselves as to the necessities thereof. How far Mr. Oglethorpe's schemes were consistent with the welfare or prosperity of it, will best appear from the following narrative.

When experience gradually unfolded to us the alterations we found absolutely requisite to our subsisting, we made all dutiful and submissive applications to these our patrons, in whom we placed so much confidence. This course we judged the most proper and direct, and therefore repeated these our dutiful applications, both to the body of the trustees and to Mr. Oglethorpe; but, alas! our miseries could not alter his views of things, and therefore we could obtain no redress from him; and the honorable board we found were prejudiced against our petitions, no doubt through misinformation and misrepresentations, and this, we are confident, a further enquiry and time will convince them of.

The inviolable regard we paid to the honorable board kept us from applying to any other power for redress, whilst the least hopes could be entertained of any from them; and we

make no doubt but that our moderation in this respect will recommend us to all persons of humanity.

A second reason is, that, as we had daily occasion of seeing our supreme magistrates, who ruled over us with unlimited power, exercising illegal acts of authority, by threatenings, imprisonments, and other oppressions; therefore, we had just reason to apprehend that any further steps to obtain relief might subject us to the like effects of arbitrary power; so, until now, that a handful of us have made our escape to a land of liberty (after having made shipwreck of our time and substance in that unhappy colony), we had it not in our power to represent the state of that settlement to the world, or make our application to higher powers for redress.

We are hopeful that the perusal of the following sheets will rectify two sorts of readers in their surprise in relation to the colony of Georgia, viz.: those of Great Britain, who have never known this part of the world but by description, and those of America. The first are no doubt surprised to think it possible that so pleasant and temperate a clime, so fruitful a soil, such extensive privileges, all which were publicly given out, and such considerable sums of public and private benefactions, have not satisfied and enriched us. Them we refer to the following narrative for satisfaction. The American reader, on the other hand, must be equally surprised to find that such numbers should have been so fooled and blindfolded as to expect to live in this part of America by cultivation of lands without negroes, and much more without titles to their lands, and laid under a load of grievances and restrictions; and though these were redressed, how could persons in their senses ever imagine that fifty acres of pine barren, not value fifty-six pence in property (and whereof many thousands may be purchased at half that rate in the neighboring province) could maintain a family of white people, and pay such duties and quit-rents in a few years as the richest grounds in Carolina or other provinces in America will never bear? To these last we shall only beg leave to observe that such fatal artifice was used (we shall not say by whom), such specious pretences were made use of, and such real falsities advanced, and the smallest foundations of truth magnified to hyperbole, that we, who had no opportunity of knowing otherways, or means of

learning the real truth, and being void of all suspicion of artifice or design, easily believed all these, and fell into the decoy.

The mind of man is naturally curious and enterprising ; we easily feed our wishes into realities, and affect and look upon every novelty in the most favorable light. How easy, then, is it for cunning and artifice to lay hold on the weak sides of our fellow creatures, as we catch fish with a hook baited to their particular gout.

To prove this charge, we shall only transcribe some passages from a piece of prose, and some from a piece of poesy, by which specimens the reader may judge of some considerable number which were dispersed and vended of the same stamp.

The first are from a pamphlet printed at London, 1733, entitled, "A new and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia." The author has not thought fit to favor us with his name ; but it is easy to conceive that we, who suspected no artifice or design, must conclude that it came from the best authority, from the circumstances of its being dispersed publicly, and not being contradicted, and from the author's intimate acquaintance (at least so pretended) with all the trustees' measures and designs. After a high encomium upon the trustees, page 7, he says : "The air of Georgia is 'healthy, being always serene and pleasant, never subject to 'excessive heat or cold, or sudden changes of weather ; the 'winter is regular and short, and the summer cooled with 'refreshing breezes ; it neither feels the cutting northwest 'wind that the Virginians complain of, nor the intense heats of 'Spain, Barbary, Italy, and Egypt. The soil will produce 'anything with very little culture." Page 19 : "All sorts of 'corn yield an amazing increase ; one-hundred fold is the common estimate ; though their husbandry is so slight that they 'can only be said to scratch the earth and merely to cover the 'seed ; all the best sort of cattle and fowls are multiplied 'without number, and therefore without a price ; vines are 'native here." Page 21 : "The woods near Savannah are 'not hard to be cleared ; many of them have no underwood, 'and the trees do not stand generally thick on the ground, but 'at considerable distances asunder. When you fell the timber

'for use, or to make tar, the root will rot in four or five years,
 'and in the meantime you may pasture the ground; but if
 'you would only destroy the timber, it's done by half a dozen
 'strokes of an ax surrounding each tree a little above the root.
 'In a year or two, the water getting into the wound rots the
 'timber, and a brisk gust of wind fells many acres for you in
 'an hour, of which you may make one bright bonfire. Such
 'will be frequently here the fate of the pine, the walnut,
 'the cypress, the oak, and the cedar. Such an air and
 'soil can only be described by a poetical pen, because there
 'is no danger of exceeding the truth; therefore, take Waller's
 'description of an island in the neighborhood of Carolina, to
 'give you an idea of this happy climate:

The spring, which but salutes us, here,
 Inhabits there, and courts them all the year.
 Ripe fruits and blossoms on the same tree live;
 At once they promise what at once they give.
 So sweet the air, so moderate the clime,
 None sickly lives, nor dies before his time;
 Heaven sure has kept this spot of earth uncurst,
 To show how all things were created first.

Page 27: "The Indians bring many a mile the whole deer's
 'flesh, which they sell to the people who live in the country,
 'for the value of sixpence sterling, and a wild turkey of forty-
 'pound weight for the value of two-pence." In page 32, the
 author, when recommending the Georgia adventure to gentle-
 men of decayed circumstances, who must labor at home or do
 worse, states the following objection, viz.: "If such people
 'can't get bread here for their labor, how will their condition
 'be mended in Georgia?" which he solves in the following
 manner: "The answer is easy; part of it is well attested,
 'and part self-evident; they have land there for nothing, and
 'that land so fertile, that, as is said before, they receive an
 'hundred-fold increase, for taking a very little pains. Give
 'here in England ten acres of good land to one of these help-
 'less persons, and I doubt not his ability to make it sustain
 'him, and by his own culture, without letting it to another;
 'but the difference between no rent and racked rent is the
 'difference between eating and starving." Page 32: "These
 'trustees not only give land to the unhappy who go thither,

‘but are also impowered to receive the voluntary contributions
 ‘of charitable persons, to enable to furnish the poor ad-
 ‘venturers with all necessaries for the expense of their
 ‘voyage, occupying the land, and supporting them till they
 ‘find themselves comfortably settled; so that now the unfor-
 ‘tunate will not be obliged to bind themselves to a long
 ‘servitude to pay for their passage, for they may be carried
 ‘gratis into a land of liberty and plenty, where they imme-
 ‘diately find themselves in the possession of a competent
 ‘estate, in an happier climate than they knew before, and
 ‘they are unfortunate indeed if here they cannot forget their
 ‘sorrows.” Nay, as if such assertions as these were not
 powerful enough to influence poor people, calculations are
 subjoined to demonstrate that a family consisting of one poor
 man, his wife, and child of seven years old, may in Georgia
 earn sixty pounds sterling per annum, and this abstracted from
 silk, wine, etc. Page 41: “Now this very family in Georgia,
 ‘by raising rice and corn sufficient for its occasions, and by
 ‘attending the care of their cattle and land (which almost
 ‘every one is able to do in some tolerable degree for himself)
 ‘will easily produce in gross value the sum of sixty pounds
 ‘sterling per annum; nor is this to be wondered at, because of
 ‘the valuable assistance it has from a fertile soil and a stock
 ‘given gratis, which must always be remembered in this
 ‘calculation.

‘The calculation of one hundred such families when
 ‘formally extended, stands thus,’—Page 43,

	<i>l. s. d.</i>
‘In London one hundred poor men earn, . . .	500 00 0
‘One hundred women and one hundred children, . . .	500 00 0
	<hr/>
	1000 00 0
‘In Georgia an hundred families earn:	
‘One hundred men for labor, . . .	1200 00 0
‘Ditto for care of their stock at leisure hours, . . .	1200 00 0
‘One hundred women and one hundred children, . . .	2400 00 0
‘Land and stock in themselves, . . .	1200 00 0
	<hr/>
Total, . . .	6000 00 0
	<i>Q. E. D.</i>

But we must conclude this head lest we tire the reader. We shall now beg leave to quote a few poetical accounts of this paradise of the world, and of the fatherly care and protection we might depend on from Mr. Oglethorpe. An hundred hackney muses might be instanced; but we shall confine ourselves to the celebrated performance of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Wesley, where we might well expect a sufficient stock of truth and religion to counterbalance a poetical license. Vide a poem entitled "Georgia," and verses upon Mr. Oglethorpe's second voyage to Georgia. Printed London, 1736.

See where beyond the spacious ocean lies
A wide waste land beneath the southern skies;
Where kindly suns for ages rolled in vain,
Nor e'er the vintage saw, or rip'ning grain;
Where all things into wild luxuriance ran,
And burthened nature asked the aid of man.
In this sweet climate and prolific soil,
He bids the eager swain indulge his toil;
In free possession to the planter's hand,
Consigns the rich uncultivated land.
Go you, the monarch cries, go settle there,
Whom Britain from her plentitude can spare:
Go, your old wonted industry pursue;
Nor envy Spain the treasures of Peru.

But not content in council here to join,
A further labor OGLETHORPE, is thine;
In each great deed thou claim'st the foremost part,
And toil and danger charm thy gen'rous heart;
But chief for this thy warm affections rise;
For oh! thou view'st it with a parent's eyes;
For this thou tempt'st the vast tremendous main,
And floods and storms oppose their threats in vain.

He comes, whose life, while absent from your view,
Was one continued ministry for you;
For you were laid out all his pains and art,
Won every will and softened every heart.
With what paternal joy shall he relate
How views it's mother isle your little state;
Think while he strove your distant coast to gain,
How oft he sighed and chid the tedious main;
Impatient to survey, by culture graced,
Your dreary woodland and your rugged waste.
Fair were the scenes he feigned, the prospects fair;
And sure, ye Georgians, all he feigned was there.

A thousand pleasures crowd into his breast;
But one, one mighty thought absorbs the rest,
And gives me heav'n to see, the patriot cries,
Another Britain in the desert rise.

Again,

With nobler products see thy Georgia teems,
Cheered with the genial sun's director beams;
There the wild vine to culture learns to yield,
And purple clusters ripen through the field.
Now bid thy merchants bring thy wine no more
Or from the Iberian or the Tuscan shore;
No more they need the Hungarian vineyard's drain,
And France herself may drink her best Champagne.
Behold! at last, and in a subject land,
Nectar sufficient for thy large demand;
Delicious nectar, powerful to improve
Our hospitable mirth and social love;
This for thy jovial sons--nor less the care
Of thy young province, to oblige the fair;
Here tend the silk worm in the verdant shade,
The frugal matron and the blooming maid.

From the whole, we doubt not, the reader will look upon us as sufficiently punished for our credulity; and indeed, who would not have been caught with such promises, such prospects? What might not the poor man flatter himself with, from such an alteration in his situation? And how much more might a gentleman expect from a plentiful stock of his own, and numbers of servants to set up with? Could a person with the least faith have questioned the committing his interests to such guardians, and such a tender father as Mr. Oglethorpe was believed to be? Whether he has acted that generous, that humane, that fatherly part, the following narrative must determine.

As for those poetical licenses touching the wine and silk, we do not transcribe them as a reflection upon the author, but as a satire upon the mismanagement of those manufactures, as since no measures were taken that seemed really intended for their advancement.

We no wise question the possibility of advancing such improvements in Georgia with far less sums of money, properly applied, than the public has bestowed; but not even the flourishing of wine and silk can make a colony of British subjects

happy, if they are deprived of the liberties and properties of their birthright.

We have endeavored to the utmost to be tender of characters, but as we undertake to write an account of facts and truths, there is no help for it when those facts and truths press home.

It is a common satisfaction to sufferers to expose to the public the rocks upon which they split, and the misfortunes by which they suffered, and it may well be allowed us to publish the causes to which we attribute the ruin of that settlement and ourselves, and more especially as we are prosecutors for justice from higher powers, which we doubt not receiving as the case deserves.

We hope the truth of the following narrative will recommend itself to the perusal of the candid reader. The fatal truths of this tragedy hath already been sealed with the death of multitudes of our fellow creatures, but still (thanks to the providence of the Almighty) some survive to attest and confirm the truth of what is herein contained, against any persons or names, however great, however powerful. Our circumstances and sincerity will excuse our want of that politeness and accuracy of style which might have represented our case to greater advantage to the courteous reader, whom we shall no longer detain from the subject in hand.

VOL I COLONIAL TRACTS NO 4

A TRUE AND HISTORICAL NARRATIVE, ETC.

NOTHING is more difficult for authors than to divest themselves of bias and partiality, especially when they themselves are parties or sufferers in the affair treated of.

It is possible this may be supposed the case with us, the publishers of this narrative; it may be imagined that the hardships, losses, and dissappointments we have met with in the Colony of Georgia will naturally sour our humors and engage us to represent everything in the worst light.

As the probability of those surmises is very obvious to us, we have, to the utmost of our power, guarded against the weak side of ourselves, and to convince the world of our sincerity shall no further descend into the grievances of particular persons than is absolutely requisite for making our general narrative intelligible; and to a faithful detail of public vouchers, records, extracts, missives, memorials, and representations, shall only adjoin so much of history as may be necessary to recount the most material events and to complete the connection.

We are hopeful that an information founded upon the strictest truth will effectually introduce any further steps that Providence shall enable us to take toward procuring the redress of our grievances. While we had the least hopes of redress from our immediate superiors and patrons, we would not, and when we begin to despair of relief by that channel, we durst not, make application to any other tribunal, unless we would expose ourselves to the dreadful effects of the resentment of those who had before reduced us to poverty by oppression; and, indeed, in all the applications we made for redress we were brow-beat, obstructed, threatened, and branded with opprobrious names, such as proud, idle, lazy, discontented, and mutinous people, and several other appellations of that kind; and were always afterwards harrassed by all means whatso-

ever, several instances of which will appear to the reader in the sequel.

Our late retreat from that confinement to a land of liberty puts it in our power to speak the truth, and though our endeavors are too late to relieve the dead, the dying, and those many now dispersed in all the corners of his majesty's dominions; yet they may be the means of ushering in sympathy and assistance to the survivors, and to multitudes of widows and orphans of the deceased, from the humane and generous.

As our sole design is to give a plain narrative of the establishment and progress of the Colony of Georgia from its rise to its present period, we shall court no other ornaments than those of truth and perspicuity, and shall endeavor to carry the reader's attention regularly from the first to the last motions we make mention of.

In the year 1732 his majesty was pleased to erect, by his Royal Charter, into a separate province distinct from South Carolina, that space of land lying between the rivers Savannah and Alatomaha, under the name of Georgia.

As this gracious charter is the basis and foundation of all the transactions relating to this province, which have so much amused and perplexed the world, and which our endeavor is to set in a true light, we cannot dispense with inserting the charter at large, which we are confident, for many reasons, will be acceptable to the reader.

CHARTER.

GEORGE the Second, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; King, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas, we are credibly informed that many of our poor subjects are, through misfortunes and want of employment, reduced to great necessity, insomuch as by their labor they are not able to provide a maintenance for themselves and families; and if they had means to defray their charges of passage and other expenses incident to new settlements, they would be glad to settle in any of our provinces in America, where, by cultivating the lands, at present waste and desolate, they might not only gain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families, but also strengthen our colonies and increase the trade, navi-

gation, and wealth of these our realms; and whereas, our provinces in North America have been frequently ravaged by Indian enemies, more especially that of South Carolina, which in the late war by the neighboring savages, was laid waste by fire and sword and great numbers of the English inhabitants miserably massacred; and our living subjects who now inhabit there, by reason of the smallness of their numbers, will, in case of a new war, be exposed to the late calamities, inasmuch as their whole southern frontier continueth unsettled, and lieth open to the said savages; and, whereas, we think it highly becoming our crown and royal dignity to protect all our loving subjects, be they never so distant from us, to extend our fatherly compassion even to the meanest and most infatuate of our people, and to relieve the wants of our above-mentioned poor subjects; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those ends that a regular colony of the said poor people be settled and established in the southern territories of Carolina; and, whereas, we have been well assured that if we would be graciously pleased to erect and settle a corporation for the receiving, managing, and disposing of the contributions of our loving subjects, divers persons would be induced to contribute to the purposes aforesaid. Know ye, therefore, that we have, for the consideration aforesaid, and for the better and more orderly carrying on the said poor purposes, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, willed, ordained, constituted, and appointed, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do will, ordain, constitute, declare, and grant that our right trusty and well-beloved John Lord Viscount Percival of our Kingdom of Ireland, our trusty and well-beloved Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, Thomas Tower, Robert Moor, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, William Sloper, Francis Eyles, John Laroche, James Vernon, William Beletha, Esqrs. A. M. John Burton, B. D.; Richard Bundy, A. M.; Arthur Beaford, A. M.; Samuel Smith, A. M.; Adam Anderson, and Thomas Coram, Gentlemen, and such other persons as shall be elected in the manner herein-after mentioned, and their successors to be elected in the manner hereinafter directed, be, and shall be one body politic and corporate, in deed and in name, by the name of The Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America;

and them and their successors by the same name, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, really and fully make, ordain, constitute and declare to be one body politic in deed and in name forever; and that by the same name they and their successors shall and may have perpetual succession; and that they and their successors, by that name, shall and may forever hereafter be persons able and capable in the law to purchase, have, take, receive, and enjoy, to them and their successors, any manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, advowsons, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, franchises, and other hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being in Great Britain, or any part thereof, of whatsoever nature, kind, or quality, or value they be, in fee and perpetuity, not exceeding the yearly value of one thousand pounds beyond reprises; also estates for lives and for years, and all other manner of goods, chattels, and things whatsoever they may be, for the better settling and supporting and maintaining the said colony, and other uses aforesaid; and to give, grant, let, and demise the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels, and things whatsoever aforesaid, by lease or leases for term of years, in possession at time of granting thereof, and not in reversion, not exceeding the term of thirty-one years from the time of granting thereof, on which, in case no fine be taken, shall be reserved the full, and in case a fine be taken, shall be reserved at least a moiety of the value that the same shall reasonably and bona fide be worth at the time of such demise; and that they and their successors, by the name aforesaid, shall and may forever hereafter be persons able, capable in the law, to purchase, have, take, receive, and enjoy, to them and their successors, any lands, territories, possessions, tenements, jurisdictions, franchises, and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being in America, of what quantity, quality, or value whatsoever they be, for the better settling and supporting and maintaining said colony; and that by the same aforesaid they shall and may be able to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended in all courts and places whatsoever, and before whatsoever judges, justices, and other officers, of us, our heirs, and successors, in all and singular actions, complaints, pleas, matters, suits, and demands, of what kind,

nature, or quality soever they be; and to act and do all other matters and things in as ample manner and form as any other our liege subjects of this realm of Great Britain, and that they and their successors forever hereafter shall and may have a common seal to serve for the causes and business of them and their successors; and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their successors to change, break, alter, and make new the said seal from time to time and at their pleasure, as they shall think best. And we do further grant, for us, our heirs, and successors, that the said corporation, and the common council of the said corporation hereinafter by us appointed, may from time to time, and at all times, meet about their affairs when and where they please, and transact and carry on the business of the said corporation. And for the better execution of the purposes aforesaid, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant to the said corporation and their successors, that they and their successors forever, may upon the third Thursday in the month of March, yearly, meet at some convenient place to be appointed by said corporation, or major part of them who shall be present at any meeting of the said corporation to be had for the appointing of the said place, and that they, or two-thirds of such of them that shall be present at such yearly meeting, and at no other meeting of the said corporation, between the hours of ten in the morning and four in the afternoon of the same day, choose and elect such person or persons to be members of the said corporation as they shall think beneficial to the good designs of the said corporation. And our further will and pleasure is, that if it shall happen that any persons hereinafter by us appointed as the common council of the said corporation, or any persons to be elected or admitted members of the said common council in the manner hereafter directed, shall die, or shall by writing under his and their hands respectively resign his or their office or offices of common council man or common council men, the said corporation, or the major part of such of them as shall be present, shall and may at such meeting, on the said third Thursday in March yearly, in manner as aforesaid, next after such death or resignation, and at no other meeting of the said corporation, into the room or place of such person or persons so dead or so resigning, elect and choose one or more such person

or persons, being members of the said corporation as to them shall seem meet. And our will is, that all and every the person or persons which shall from time to time hereafter be elected common council men of the said corporation as aforesaid, do and shall before he or they act as common council men of the said corporation, take an oath for the faithful and due execution of their office, which oath the president of the said corporation for the time being is hereby authorized and required to administer to such person or persons elected as aforesaid. And our will and pleasure is, that the first president of the said corporation is and shall be our trusty and well beloved the said John Lord Viscount Percival, and that the said president shall, within thirty days after the passing this charter, cause a summons to be issued to the several members of the said corporation herein particularly named, to meet at such time and place as he shall appoint, to consult about and transact the business of the said corporation. And our will and pleasure is, and we, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant, ordain, and direct that the common council of this corporation shall consist of fifteen in number, and we do, by these presents, nominate, constitute, and appoint our right trusty, and well beloved John Lord Viscount Percival, our trusty and beloved Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, Thomas Laroche, James Vernon, William Beletha, Esqrs., and Stephen Hales, master of arts, to be the common council of the said corporation, to continue in said office during their good behavior. And whereas it is our royal intention that the members of the said corporation should be increased by election as soon as conveniently may be, to a greater number than is hereby nominated. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, ordain and direct that from the time of such increase of the members of the said corporation, the number of the common council shall be increased to twenty-four, and that the same assembly at which such additional members of the said corporation shall be chosen, there shall likewise be elected in the manner herein before directed for the election of common council men, nine persons to be the said common council men, and to make up the number twenty-four. And our further will and pleasure is, that our trusty and well beloved Edward

Digby, Esq., shall be the first chairman of the common council of the said corporation, and that the said Lord Viscount Percival shall be and continue president of the said corporation, and that the said Edward Digby shall be and continue chairman of the common council of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said corporation, respectively, until the meeting which shall be had next and immediately after the first meeting of the said corporation respectively, and no longer, at which said second meeting, and every other subsequent and future meeting of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said corporation respectively, in order to preserve an indifferent rotation of the several officers of president of the corporation, and of chairman of the common council of the said corporation. We do direct and ordain, that all and every the person and persons members of the said common council for the time being, and no other, being present at such meetings shall severally and respectively in their turns preside at the meetings which shall from time to time be held of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said corporation respectively. And in case any doubt or question shall at any time arise touching or concerning the right of any member of the said common council to preside at any meeting of the said corporation, or at the common council of the said corporation, the same shall respectively be determined by the major part of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said corporation respectively, who shall be present at such meeting. Provided always, that no member of the said common council having served in the offices of president of the said corporation, or of chairman of the common council of the said corporation, shall be capable of being or of serving as president or chairman at any meeting of the said corporation or common council of the said corporation, next and immediately ensuing that in which he so served as president of the said corporation, or chairman of the said common council of the said corporation respectively, unless it shall so happen that at any such meeting of the said corporation there shall not be any other member of the said common council present. And our will and pleasure is, that at all and every of the meetings of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said corporation, the president or chairman for the time being,

shall have a voice, and shall vote, and shall act as a member of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said corporation, at such meeting, and in case of any equality of votes, the said president or chairman for the time being shall have a lasting vote. And our further will and pleasure is, that no president of the said corporation, or chairman of the common council of the said corporation, or member of the said common council or corporation, by us by these presents appointed, or hereafter, from time to time to be elected and appointed in manner aforesaid, shall have, take or receive, directly or indirectly, any salary, fee, perquisite, benefit or profit whatsoever, for or by reason of his or their serving the said corporation or common council of the said corporation, or president, chairman, or common council man, or as being a member of the said corporation. And our will and pleasure is, that the said herein before appointed president, chairman, or common council men, before he and they act respectively as such, shall severally take an oath for the faithful and due execution of their trust, to be administered to the president by the chief baron of our court of exchequer, for the time being, and by the president of the said corporation to the rest of the common council, who are hereby authorized severally and respectively to administer the same. And our will and pleasure is, that all and every person and persons who shall have in his or their own name or names, or in the name or names of any person or persons in trust for him or them, or for his or their benefit, any office, place, or employment of profit, under the said corporation, shall be incapable of being elected a member of the said corporation, and if any member of the said corporation during such time as he shall continue a member thereof, shall in his own name, or in the name of any person or persons in trust for him, or for his benefit, have, hold, exercise, accept, possess, or enjoy any office, place, or employment of profit under the said corporation, or under the common council of the said corporation, such member shall from the time of his having, holding, exercising, accepting, possessing, and enjoying such office, place, and employment of profit, cease to be a member of the said corporation. And we do, for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said corporation and their successors, that they and their successors,

or the major part of such of them as shall be present at any meeting of the said corporation, convened and assembled for that purpose by a convenient notice thereof, shall have power from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to authorize and appoint such persons as they shall think fit, to take subscriptions, and to gather and collect such moneys as shall be by any person or persons contributed for the purposes aforesaid, and shall and may revoke and make void such authorities and appointments as often as they shall see cause so to do. And we hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, ordain and direct, that the said corporation every year lay an account in writing before the chancellor, or speaker, or commissioners for the custody of the great seal of Great Britian, of us, our heirs and successors, the chief justice of the Court of Kings-Bench, the master of the rolls, the chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and the chief baron of the Exchequer, of us, our heirs and successors, for the time being, or any two of them, of all moneys and effects by them received or expended for the carrying on the good purposes aforesaid. And we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said corporation and their successors, full power and authority to constitute, ordain, and make such and so many by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, as to them or the greater part of them, at their general meeting for that purpose, shall seem necessary and convenient for the well ordering and governing of the said corporation, and the said by-laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances, or any of them, to alter and annul as they or the major part of them then present shall see requisite, and in and by such by-laws, rules, orders, and ordinances, to set, impose, and inflict reasonable pains and penalties upon any offender or offenders who shall transgress, break or violate the said by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, so made as aforesaid, and to mitigate the same as they or the major part of them then present shall think convenient; which said pains and penalties shall and may be levied, sued for, taken, retained, and recovered by the said corporation and their successors, by their officers and servants from time to time to be appointed for that purpose, by action of debt, or by any other lawful ways or means, to the use and behoof of the said corporation and their succes-

sors ; all and singular which by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, so as aforesaid to be made, we will, shall be duly observed and kept, under the pains and penalties therein to be contained, so always, as the said by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, pains and penalties, from time to time to be made and imposed, be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant to the laws or statutes of this our realm ; and that such by-laws, constitutions and ordinances, pains and penalties, from time to time to be made and imposed ; and any repeal or alteration thereof, or any of them be likewise agreed to, be established and confirmed by the said general meeting of the said corporation, to be held and kept next after the same shall be respectively made. And whereas the said corporation intend to settle a colony, and to make an habitation and plantation in that part of our province of South Carolina, in America, hereinafter described ; know ye, that we, greatly desiring the happy success of the said corporation, for their further encouragement in accomplishing so excellent a work, have, of our foresaid grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said corporation and their successors, under the reservation, limitation and declaration hereafter expressed, seven undivided parts, the whole in eight equal parts to be divided, of all those lands, countries and territories situate, lying and being in that part of South Carolina, in America, which lies from the most northern part of a stream or river there, commonly called the Savannah, all along the sea coast to the southward, unto the most southern stream of a certain other great water or river called the Alatamaha, and westerly from the heads of the said rivers respectively in direct lines to the South Seas ; and all that share, circuit, and precinct of land within the said boundaries, with the islands on the sea lying opposite to the eastern coast of the said lands, within twenty leagues of the same, which are not inhabited already, or settled by any authority derived from the crown of Great Britain, together with all the soils, grounds, havens, ports, gulfs, and bays, mines, as well royal mines of gold and silver as other minerals, precious stones, quarries, woods, rivers, waters, fishings, as well royal fishings of whale and sturgeon as other fishings, pearls, commodities, jurisdictions,

royalties, franchises, privileges and preëminencies within the said frontiers and precincts thereof, and thereunto in any sort belonging or appertaining, and which we by our letters patent may or can grant; and in as ample manner and sort as we may, or any our royal progenitors have hitherto granted to any company, body, politic or corporate, or to any adventurer or adventurers, undertaker or undertakers of any discoveries, plantations or traffic of, in, or unto, any foreign parts whatsoever, and in as legal and ample manner as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed: To have, hold, possess and enjoy the said seven undivided parts, the whole into eight equal parts to be divided as aforesaid, of all and singular the lands, countries, and territories, with all and singular other the premises herein before by these presents granted, or mentioned or intended to be granted to them the said corporation and their successors, for ever, for the better support of the said colony; to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our honor of Hampton Court, in our county of Middlesex, in free and common soccage, and not in capite; yielding and paying therefor to us, our heirs and successors, yearly for ever, the sum of four shillings for every hundred acres of the said lands which the said corporation shall grant, demise, plant or settle; the said payment not to commence or to be made until ten years after such grant, demise, planting or settling, and to be answered and paid to us, our heirs and successors, in such manner, and in such species of money or notes as shall be current in payment by proclamation from time to time in our said Province of South Carolina; all which lands, countries, territories and premises hereby granted, or mentioned and intended to be granted, we do, by these presents, make, erect and create, one independant and separate province by the name of Georgia, by which name, we will, the same henceforth be called; and that all and every person or persons who shall at any time hereafter inhabit or reside within our said Province, shall be and are hereby declared to be free, and shall not be subject to or be bound to obey any laws, orders, statutes, or constitutions which have been heretofore made, ordered, and enacted, or which hereafter shall be made, ordered, or enacted by, for or as the laws, orders, statutes, or constitutions of our said Province of South Carolina

(save and except only the commander-in-chief of the militia of our said Province of Georgia, to our governor for the time being of South Carolina, in manner hereafter declared), but shall be subject to and bound to obey such laws, orders, statutes, and constitutions as shall from time to time be made, ordered, and enacted, for the better government of the said Province of Georgia, in the manner hereinafter declared. And we do hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, ordain, will, and establish, that for and during the term of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, the said corporation assembled for that purpose, shall and may form and prepare laws, statutes, and ordinances, fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the said colony, and not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England, and the same shall and may present, under their common seal, to us, our heirs, and successors, in our or their privy council, for our or their approbation or disallowance; and the said laws, statutes, and ordinances being approved of by us, our heirs, and successors, in our or their privy council, shall from thenceforth be in full force and virtue within our said Province of Georgia. And forasmuch as the good and prosperous success of the said colony cannot but chiefly depend, next under the blessing of God and the support of our royal authority, upon the provident and good direction of the whole enterprise; and that it will be too great a burden upon all the members of the said corporation to be convened so often as may be requisite to hold meetings for the settling, supporting, ordering, and maintaining the said colony: Therefore, we do will, ordain, and establish, that the said common council for the time being, of the said corporation, being assembled for that purpose, or the major part of them, shall from time to time and all times hereafter, have full power and authority to dispose of, extend, and apply all the moneys and effects belonging to the said corporation, in such manner and ways, and by such expenses as they shall think best to conduce to the carrying on and effecting the good purposes herein mentioned and intended: And also, shall have full power, in the name and on the account of the said corporation, and with and under their common seal, to enter under any covenants or contracts for carrying on and effecting the purposes aforesaid. And our further will and pleasure is,

that the said common council for the time being, or the major part of such common council which shall be present and assembled for that purpose, from time to time and at all times hereafter, shall and may nominate, constitute, and appoint a treasurer or treasurers, secretary or secretaries, and such other officers, ministers, and servants of the said corporation, as to them or the major part of them as shall be present shall seem proper or requisite for the good management of their affairs; and at their will and pleasure to displace, remove, and put out such treasurer or treasurers, secretary or secretaries, and all such other officers, ministers, and servants, as often as they shall think fit so to do, and others in the room, office, place, or station of him or them so displaced, removed, or put out, to nominate, constitute, and appoint; and shall and may determine and appoint such reasonable salaries, perquisites and other rewards for their labor, or service of such officers, servants, and persons, as to the said common council shall seem meet; and all such officers, servants, and persons shall, before the acting their respective offices, take an oath, to be to them administered by the chairman for the time being of the said common council of the said corporation, who is hereby authorized to administer the same, for the faithful and due execution of their respective offices and places. And our will and pleasure is, that all such person and persons who shall from time to time be chosen or appointed treasurer or treasurers, secretary or secretaries of the said corporation, in manner hereinafter directed, shall, during such times as they shall serve in the said offices respectively, be incapable of being a member of the said corporation. And we do further, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant, by these presents, to the said corporation and their successors, that it shall be lawful for them and their officers or agents, at all times hereafter, to transport and convey out of our realm of Great Britain, or any other our dominions, into the said province of Georgia, to be there settled, and so many of our loving subjects, or any foreigners that are willing to become our subjects and live under our allegiance in the said colony, as shall be willing to go to inhabit or reside there, with sufficient shipping, armor, weapons, powder, shot, ordnance, munition, victuals, merchandise, and wares, as are

esteemed by the wild people, clothing, implements, furniture, cattle, horses, mares, and all other things necessary for the said colony, and for the use and defence, and trade with the people there, and in passing to and returning from the same. Also, we do, for ourselves and successors, declare, by these presents, that all and every the persons which shall happen to be born within the said Province, and every of their children and posterity, and shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises, and immunities of free denizens and natural born subjects within any of our dominions, to all intents and purposes as if abiding and born within this, our kingdom of Great Britain, or any other dominion. And for the greater ease and encouragement of our loving subjects, and such others as shall come to inhabit in our said colony, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant, establish, and ordain that for ever hereafter there shall be a liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all persons inhabiting or which shall inhabit or be resident within our said province, and that all such persons, except Papists, shall have a free exercise of religion, so they be contented with the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offense or scandal to the Government. And our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, declare and grant that it shall and may be lawful for the said common council, or the major part of them assembled for that purpose, in the name of the corporation, and under the common seal, to distribute, convey, assign, and set over such particular portions of lands, tenements, and hereditaments by these presents granted to the said corporation, unto such of our loving subjects naturally born or denizens, or others, that shall be willing to become our subjects, and live under our allegiance in the said colony, upon such terms, and for such estates, and upon such rents, reservations, and conditions as the same may be lawfully granted, and as to the said common council, or the major part of them so present, shall seem fit and proper. Provided always, that no grants shall be made of any part of the said lands unto any person being a member of the said corporation, or to any other person in trust for the benefit of any member of the said corporation, and that no person having any estate or interest in law or equity in any part of the said lands shall be capable of being a

member of the said corporation during the continuance of such estate or interest. Provided also, that no greater quantity of lands be granted, either entirely or in parcels, to or for the use, or in trust for any one person, than five hundred acres, and that all grants made contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof shall be absolutely null and void. And we do hereby grant and ordain, that such person or persons for the time being, as shall be thereunto appointed by the said corporation shall, and may at all times, and from time to time hereafter, have full power and authority to administer and give the oaths appointed by an act of Parliament made in the first year of the reign of our late royal father, to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and also the oath of abjuration, to all and every person or persons which shall at any time be inhabiting or residing within our said colony, and in like cases to administer the solemn affirmation to any of the persons commonly called Quakers, in such manner as by the laws of our realm of Great Britain the same may be administered. And we do, of our further grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, grant, establish, and ordain, for us, our heirs, and successors, that the said corporation and their successors, shall have full power and authority for and during the term of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, to erect and constitute judicatures and courts of record, or other courts, to be held in the name of us, our heirs, and successors, for the hearing and determining of all manner of crimes, offenses, pleas, processes, complaints, actions, matters, causes, and things whatsoever, arising or happening within the said province of Georgia, or between persons of Georgia, whether the same be criminal or civil, and whether the said crimes be capital or not capital, and whether the said pleas be real, personal, or mixed; and for awarding and making out executions thereupon, to which courts and judicatures we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full power and authority, from time to time, to administer oaths for the discovery of truth, in any matter in controversy or depending before them, or the solemn affirmation to any of the persons commonly called Quakers, in such manner as by the laws of our realm of Great Britain the same may be administered. And our further will and pleasure is, that the said corporation

and their successors, do from time to time, and at all times hereafter, register or cause to be registered all such leases, grants, plantings, conveyances, settlements, and improvements whatsoever, as shall at any time hereafter be made by or in the name of the said corporation, of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments within the said province, and shall yearly send and transmit, or cause to be sent or transmitted, authentic accounts of such leases, grants, conveyances, settlements, and improvements respectively, unto the auditor of the plantations for the time being, or his deputy, and also to our surveyor for the time being of our said province of South Carolina, to whom we do hereby grant full power and authority from time to time, as often as need shall require, to inspect and survey such of the said lands and premises as shall be demised, granted, and settled as aforesaid, which said survey and inspection, we do hereby declare to be intended to ascertain the quit-rents which shall from time to time become due to us, our heirs, and successors, according to the reservations hereinbefore mentioned, and for no other purposes whatsoever; hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, strictly enjoining and commanding, that neither our or their surveyor, or any person whatsoever, under the pretext and color of making the said survey or inspection, shall take, demand, or receive any gratuity, fee, or reward, of or from any person or persons inhabiting in the said colony or from the said corporation or common council of the same, on the pain of forfeiture of the said office or offices, and incurring our highest displeasure. Provided always, and our further will and pleasure is, that all leases, grants, and conveyances to be made by or in the name of the said corporation, of any lands within the said province, or a memorial containing the substance and effect thereof, shall be registered with the auditor of the said plantations, of us, our heirs, and successors, within the space of one year, to be computed from the date thereof, otherwise the same shall be void. And our further will and pleasure is, that the rents, issues, and all other profits which shall at any time hereafter come to the said corporation, or the major part of them which shall be present at any meeting for that purpose assembled, shall think will most improve and enlarge the said colony, and best answer the good purposes hereinbefore mentioned, and for defraying all other charges

about the same. And our will and pleasure is that the said corporation and their successors shall from time to time give in to one of the principal secretaries of state, and to the commissioners of trade and plantations, accounts of the progresses of the said colony. And our will and pleasure is that no act done at any meeting of the said common council of the said corporation shall be effectual and valid unless eight members, at least, of the said common council, including the member who shall serve as chairman at the said meeting, be present, and the major part of them consenting thereunto. And our will and pleasure is, that the common council of the said corporation for the time being, or the major part of them who shall be present, being assembled for that purpose, shall from time to time, for and during and unto the full end and expiration of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, have full power and authority to nominate, make, constitute, commission, ordain, and appoint, by such name or names, style or styles, as to them shall seem meet and fitting, all and singular such governors, judges, magistrates, ministers, and officers, civil and military, both by sea and land, within the said districts, as shall by them be thought fit and needful to be made or used for the said government of the said colony, save always and except such officers only as shall by us, our heirs, and successors, be from time to time constituted and appointed for the managing, collecting, and receiving such revenues as shall from time to time arise within the said province of Georgia, and become due to us, our heirs, and successors. Provided always, and it is our will and pleasure, that every governor of the said province of Georgia, to be appointed by the common council of the said corporation, before he shall enter upon or execute the said office of governor, shall be approved by us, our heirs, or successors, and shall take such oaths and shall qualify himself in such manner in all respects, as any governor or commander-in-chief of any of our colonies or plantations in America are by law required to do, and shall give good and sufficient security for observing the several acts of Parliament relating to trade and navigation, and to observe and obey all instructions that shall be sent to him by us, our heirs, and successors, or any acting under our or their authority, pursuant to the said acts,

or any of them. And we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs, or successors, will, grant, and ordain, that the said corporation and their successors shall have full power for and during, and until the full end and term of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, by any commander or other officer or officers by them for that purpose from time to time appointed, to train, instruct, exercise, and govern a militia for the special defence and safety of our said colony, to assemble in martial array the inhabitants of the said colony, and to lead and conduct them, and with them to encounter, expulse, repel, resist, and pursue, by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, within or without the limits of our said colony; and also to kill, slay, and destroy, and conquer, by all fighting ways, enterprises and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons as shall at any time hereafter, in any hostile manner attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of our said colony, and to use and exercise the martial law in time of actual war and invasion or rebellion, in such cases where by law the same may be used or exercised; and also from time to time to erect forts and fortify any place or places within our said colony, and the same to furnish with all necessary ammunition, provisions, and stores of war, for offense and defence, and to commit from time to time the custody or government of the same to such person or persons as to them shall seem meet; and the said forts and fortifications to demolish at their pleasure; and to take and surprise, by all ways and means, all and every such person or persons, with their ships, arms, ammunition, and other goods, as shall in an hostile manner invade or attempt the invading, conquering, or annoying of our said colony. And our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, declare and grant, that the governor and commander-in-chief of the province of South Carolina, of us, our heirs, and successors, for the time being, shall at all times hereafter have the chief command of the militia of our said province hereby erected and established; and that such militia shall observe and obey all orders and directions that shall from time to time be given or sent them by the said governor or commander-in-chief, anything in these presents before contained to the contrary hereof.

in any wise notwithstanding. And, of our more special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant unto the said corporation and their successors, full power and authority to import and export their goods at and from any port or ports that shall be appointed by us, our heirs, and successors, within the said province of Georgia for that purpose, without being obliged to touch at any other port in South Carolina. And we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, will and declare, that from and after the determination of the said term of one and twenty years, such form of government and method of making laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the better governing and ordering the said province of Georgia and the inhabitants thereof, shall be established and observed within the same, as we, our heirs and successors, shall hereafter ordain and appoint, and shall be agreeable to law; and that from and after the determination of the said term of one and twenty years, the governor of our said province of Georgia, and all officers, civil and military, within the same, shall from time to time be nominated and constituted and appointed by us, our heirs, and successors. And, lastly, we do hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant unto the said corporation and their successors, that these our letters patent, or the enrollments or exemplification thereof, shall be in and by all things, good, firm, valid, sufficient, and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, and shall be taken, construed, and adjudged in all courts and elsewhere in the most favorable and beneficial sense, and for the best advantage of the said corporation and their successors, any omission, imperfection, defect, matter, or cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. In witness, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness our self at Westminster, the ninth day of June, in the fifth year of our reign.

By Writ of Privy Seal,

COOKS.

THE gracious purposes and ample privileges contained in the foregoing charter are so obvious to every reader that we need only say, they were suitable to a most generous and humane British monarch, and had the settlement of the colony of Georgia been carried on conformable thereto, and no other restrictions or reservations made than what are therein mentioned, then would the colony at this time have been in a flourishing condition, answerable to all those glorious ends that were proposed and expected from it; but on the contrary, laws and restrictions being made such as were never heard of in any British settlement, the colony is brought to the present melancholy situation. But we shall say no more at present on this head than what Mr. Oglethorpe said in Parliament relating to the charitable corporation; viz., **"The better the design was, the more those deserve to be punished who have disappointed the public of reaping the benefits that might have accrued from it."*

Inhabitants of all sorts, Roman Catholics only excepted, from all parts of the world were invited to possess this promised land, and large sums of money from the Parliament, as well as contributions from private and public charity, were collected; the county was laid out as an earthly paradise; the soil far surpassing that of England; the air healthy, always serene, pleasant, and temperate, never subject to excessive heat or cold, nor to sudden changes.

It was particularly set forth, and with a show of reason enough, that this proposed settlement could not fail of succeeding when the nation was so bountiful, the King so gracious, the trustees so disinterested and honorable, who had, for the benefit of mankind, given up that ease and indolence to which they were entitled by their fortunes and the too prevalent custom of their native country; and withal, being able, by seeing the mistakes and failures of other colonies, both to avoid and rectify them; and lastly, the universal report of Mr. Oglethorpe's matchless humanity and generosity, who was to conduct the first embarkation, and who was, in all appearance, to undergo the greatest hardships without any other view than to succor the distressed, and despising interest or riches.

* Vide Lond. Mag. p. 379.

† Vide a Pamphlet entitled, "A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia."

was to venture his life, his all, in establishing the intended settlement. Glorious presages of the future happiness of that colony! Irresistible temptations to those whose genius or circumstances led them to leave their native country!

No wonder then, that great numbers of poor subjects, who lay under a cloud of misfortunes, embraced the opportunity of once more tasting liberty and happiness; that Jews, attracted by the temptation of inheritances, flocked over; that Germans, oppressed and dissatisfied at home, willingly joined in the adventure, some as settlers and others as servants to the trustees; and lastly, that great numbers of gentlemen of some stock and fortune, willingly expended part of the same in purchasing servants, tools, commodities, and other necessities, to entitle them to such respective proportions of land as the trustees had thought proper to determine, and such liberties and properties as they had reason to expect from his majesty's most gracious charter. But how much they were all disappointed the sequel will show. The first thing that was done was the circumscribing the rights and titles given by his majesty, and making many other various restrictions, services, and conditions, impossible for any human person to perform, a few of which we shall here enumerate: In the first place there was an excessive quit-rent laid upon the land, being a great deal more than his majesty's subjects in the other British colonies had to pay; viz., twenty shillings sterling for every hundred acres, to be paid yearly, and if it, or any part thereof, should be behind and unpaid by the space of six calendar months next after any day of payement on which the same became due, then the land was forfeited and returned to the trustees, as it likewise did upon failure in any of the following conditions; viz.: one thousand mulberry trees always to be growing on every hundred acres; no partnership or company to be entered into for making potash; not to assign or transfer the land, or any part or parcel thereof, or any estate or interest in the same, for any term of years; not to hire, keep, lodge, board, or employ, within the limits of the province, any black or negro; and if the person holding land should die without issue male, or his heirs at any time should die without issue male, in that case likewise the whole land was forfeited and reverted to the trustees; and if any part or parcel of any of the five-

hundred-acre tracts should remain not cultivated, cleared, planted, and improved, after the space of eighteen years, such part to return to the trustees. These were the chief restrictions in all the grants of lands, which appeared very hard even to strangers who had not yet felt them and who were ignorant of the climate and nature of the place; but when anyone complained of the hardships of them, to palliate the matter it was given out that negroes were entirely useless and unprofitable; wine, silk, olives, gardens, and manufactures for women and children were the intended improvements of the colony; that the restriction of the rights of lands were only temporary, to prevent the bartering or selling them by the unthinking people at an undervalue; and concerning the want of male issue, it was asserted that the trustees, being duly petitioned, would grant continuation of the land to the eldest daughter, if any, etc., upon their good * behavior; that the laws of England and the administration of justice in the most impartial manner, and most adapted to the nature of a free British government, should be ever secured to the inhabitants.

The first of February, 1732-3, Mr. Oglethorpe arrived at Georgia with the first embarkation, consisting of forty families, making upwards of one hundred persons, all brought over and supported at the public charge. The first thing he did after he arrived in Georgia was to make a kind of solemn treaty with a parcel of fugitive Indians, who had been formerly banished their own nation for some crimes and misdemeanors they had committed, and who had, some months before this, got liberty from the governor of South Carolina to settle there. † Some of these he afterwards carried home with him under the title of kings, etc., and all of them have been ever since maintained at the public charge, at vast expense, when many poor christians were starving in the colony for want of bread; and we may safely affirm (and appeal to the store-books for the truth of it) that a larger sum of money has been expended for the support of those useless vagrants, than ever was laid out for the encouragement of silk, wine, or any other manufacture in the colony.

* How precarious must this security be to such unfortunate persons, when their behavior must be judged of by information and representation!

† They built a small number of huts on a bluff called Yamacraw; Savannah now stands on the same bluff.

Secondly, he prohibited the importation of rum, under pretense that it was destructive to the constitution, and an incentive to debauchery and idleness. However specious these pretences might seem, a little experience soon convinced us that this restriction was directly opposite to the well-being of the colony, for in the first place, we were cut off from the most immediate and probable way of exporting our timber (the only poor product of export that we could ever flatter ourselves with) to the Sugar Islands, rum being the principal return they make. In the second place, the experience of all the inhabitants of America will prove the necessity of qualifying water with some spirit (and it is very certain that no province in America yields water that such a qualification is more necessary to than Carolina and Georgia), and the usefulness of this experiment has been sufficiently evident to all the inhabitants of Georgia who could procure it and use it with moderation. A third reason which made this restriction very hurtful to the colony, was that though the laws were in force against it (which put it in the power of magistrates to lay hardships upon every person who might be otherwise under their resentment), yet great quantities were imported,* only with this difference, that in place of barter or exchange, the ready money was drained from the inhabitants. And likewise, as it is the nature of mankind in general, and of the common sort in particular, more eagerly to desire and more immoderately to use those things which are most restrained from them, such was the case with respect to rum in Georgia.

The third thing he did was regularly to set out to each freeholder in Savannah lots of fifty acres, in three distinct divisions, viz.: the eighth part of one acre for a house and garden in the town, four acres and seven-eighths at a small distance from town, and forty-five acres at a considerable remove from thence. No regard was had to the quality of the ground in the divisions, so that some were altogether pinebarren, and some swamp and morass, far surpassing the strength and ability of the planter. And indeed, what could be done at any rate with such small parcels of land separate from one another. These lots were likewise shaped in long

*Viz: from Carolina and New England, who would take money only.

pointed triangles, which considerably increased the extent of inclosure, and rendered great part of each lot entirely useless. But these and many other hardships were scarcely felt by the few people that came there so long as Mr. Oglethorpe staid, which was about fifteen months. They worked hard indeed, in building some houses in town, but then they labored in common and were likewise assisted by negroes from Carolina, who did the heaviest work. But at *Mr. Oglethorpe's going to England, the growing fame of the colony was thereby greatly increased, so that as it has been before observed, people in abundance from all parts of the world flocked to Georgia. Then they began to consider and endeavor, everyone according to his genius or abilities, how they might best subsist themselves. Some with great labor and expense essayed the making of †tar. This, as it is well known to the trustees, never quitted costs. Others tried to make plank and saw boards, which, by the great price they were obliged to sell them at, by reason of the great expense of white servants, was the chief means of ruining those who thought to procure a living by their buildings in town, for boards of all kinds could always be bought in Carolina for half the price they were able to sell them at, but few were capable to commission them from thence, and those who were so, we prevented from doing it upon pretense of discouraging the labor of white people in Georgia. Those who had numbers of servants and tracts of land in the county, went upon the planting of corn, peas, potatoes, etc., and the charge of these who succeeded the best, so far exceeded the value of the produce, that it would have saved three-fourths to have bought all from the Carolina market. The falling of timber was a task very unequal to the strength and constitution of white servants, and the hoeing the ground, they being exposed to the sultry heat of the sun, insupportable, and it is well known that this labor is one of the hardest upon the negroes, even though their constitutions are much stronger than white people, and the heat no way disagreeable or hurtful to them; but in us it created inflammatory fevers of various kinds, both

*Before he departed, a vessel with about twenty families of Jews arrived, all of whom had lots assigned them, and likewise a vessel with forty transported Irish convicts, whom he purchased, although they had been before refused at Jamaica, and who afterwards occasioned continual disturbances in the colony.

†Mr. Causton, the trustees' store-keeper, mostly at their charge, made a tar kiln, which turned out to no advantage.

continued and intermittent, wasting and tormenting fluxes, most excruciating colics, and dry belly-aches, tremors, vertigoes, palsies, and a long train of painful and lingering nervous distempers, which brought on to many a cessation both from work and life, especially as water without any qualification was the chief drink, and salt meat the only provision that could be had or afforded. And so general were these disorders that during the hot season, which lasts from March to October, hardly one-half of the servants and working people were ever able to do their masters or themselves the least service, and the yearly sickness of each servant, generally speaking, cost his master as much as would have maintained a negro for four years. These things were represented to the trustees in the summer of 1735, in a petition for the use of negroes, signed by about seventeen of the better sort of people in Savannah. In this petition there was also set forth the great disproportion betwixt the maintenance and clothing of white servants and negroes. This petition was carried to England and presented to the trustees by Mr. Hugh Sterling, an experienced planter in the colony, but no regard was had to it, or to what he could say, and great resentment was even shown to Mr. Thompson, the master of the vessel in which it went.

Whilst we labored under those difficulties in supporting ourselves, our civil liberties received a more terrible shock. For, instead of such a free government as we had reason to expect, and of being judged by the laws of our mother country, a *dictator (under the title of bailiff and store-keeper) was appointed and left by Mr. Oglethorpe, at his departure, which was in April, 1734, whose will and pleasure were the only laws in Georgia. In regard to this magistrate, the others were entirely nominal, and in a manner but ciphers. Sometimes he would ask in public their opinion, in order to have the pleasure of showing his power by contradicting them. He would often threaten juries, and especially when their verdicts did not agree with his inclination or humor. And in order the more fully to establish his absolute authority, the store and disposal of the provisions, money, and public places of trust, were committed to him, by which alteration in his state and circumstances, he became in a manner infatuated, being before

*Mr. Thomas Causton.

that a person of no substance or character, having come over with Mr. Oglethorpe amongst the first forty, and left England upon account of something committed by him concerning his majesty's duties. However, he was fit enough for a great many purposes, being a person naturally proud, covetous, cunning, and deceitful, and would bring his designs about by all possible ways and means.

As his power increased, so did his pride, haughtiness, and cruelty, insomuch that he caused eight free-holders with an officer, to attend at the door of the court, every day it sat, with their guns and bayonets, and they were commanded by his orders, to rest their fire-locks as soon as he appeared, which made people in some manner afraid to speak their minds, or juries to act as their consciences directed them. He was seldom or never uncovered on the bench, not even when an oath was administered, and being perfectly intoxicated with power and pride, he threatened every person without distinction, rich and poor, strangers and inhabitants, who in the least opposed his arbitrary proceedings, or claimed their just rights and privileges, with the stocks, whipping-post, and log-house, and many times put those threatnings in execution, so that the Georgia stocks, whipping-post, and log-house soon were famous in Carolina and everywhere else in America where the name of the province was heard of, and the very thoughts of coming to the colony became a terror to people's minds. And now the province of Carolina, who had in private and public donations given us upwards of 1300*l.* sterling, seeing these things, and how the public money was thrown away, began to despise the colony, and out of a regard to the welfare of their fellow-creatures, persuaded everybody they could from settling in it. That this absolute power might be exercised without the least interruption, the other magistrates were such that they either were unable or incapable to oppose it. It's true, in December, 1734, Mr. Causton met with a little interruption, for the trustees then sent over to Savannah one Mr. Gordon, as chief magistrate, who being a person of a very winning behavior, affable, and fluent in speech, soon got the good will of everybody, and a great many of the people laid their grievances and hardships open to him, which seemed a little to eclipse Mr. Causton, but he soon found out an expedient to remove this adversary, viz.,

by refusing him provisions from the store, which in a little time rendered him incapable to support himself and family, whereby he was obliged, after about six weeks' stay, to leave the place, in order, as he said, to represent our grievances to the trustees, and soon after returned to London, but he did not perform his promise, for what reason we shall not pretend to determine ; and some time thereafter he either resigned or was dismissed from his office of first bailiff, and Mr. Causton was appointed in his stead. As to Mr. Henry Parker, who was appointed third bailiff when Mr. Gordon came over, he was, in the first place, a man who had nothing to support himself and large family but his day labor, which was sawing, and consequently as soon as his time was otherwise employed, he must be entirely dependant on the store for his subsistence. In the second place, he was a man of no education, so that Mr. Causton soon moulded him to his own liking, and infused into him what notions he pleased. Thirdly, he was and is an absolute slave to liquor, and he who plies him most with it (which Causton always took care to do, and whose example has been since followed by his successor, Jones) has him, right or wrong, on his side. As to Mr. Christie, the recorder, he was easily overruled by the other two, and the same practice was always continued ; for he who was appointed third bailiff after Gordon's dismissal or resignation, was one Darn, nigh seventy years of age, crazed both in body and mind, who died not long after his appointment, and his successor, R. Gilbert, could neither read nor write, so that Causton had never after Gordon's departure any opposition made by the other magistrates to his arbitrary proceedings. If we should allow ourselves to enter into a detail of the particular instances of such proceedings, we should exceed much our proposed bounds. We shall therefore confine ourselves to two only, which may serve as a specimen of the many others. One is that of Capt. Joseph Watson. This person having incurred Mr. Causton's displeasure, was indicted for stirring up animosities in the minds of the Indians, etc., tending to the ruin and subversion of the colony. Upon his trial the jury, in their verdict, found him only guilty of some unguarded expressions (although twice returned and hectorred by Mr. Causton, who acted both as witness and judge in the matter), and verbally recommended him by their foreman to the mercy of

the court, imagining or supposing he might be a lunatic. However, as it afterwards appeared, it was represented to the trustees that the jury found him guilty of lunacy in their verdict, whereupon he was immediately confined by Mr. Caus-ton, although sufficient bail was offered, and kept prisoner near three years, without any sentence. But, as we are informed, this affair now lies before a proper judicature, we shall say no more of it.

The other instance is that of Mr. Odingsell, who was an inhabitant of Carolina, and had been a great benefactor to the infant colony of Georgia, having given several head of cattle and other valuable contributions towards the promoting it. This person having come to Savannah to see how the colony succeeded, after he had been there a few days, being abroad some time after it was night, as he was going to his lodgings was taken up in the street for a stroller, carried to the guard-house, and threatened with the stocks and whipping-post, the terror and fright of which, he being a mild and peaceable man, threw him into a high fever with a strong delirium, crying out to every person who came near him that they were come to carry him to the whipping-post; and after lying two or three days in this distracted condition, he was carried aboard his boat in order to be sent home, and died in the way somewhere about Dawfuskee sound.

Thus, while the nation at home was amused with the fame of the happiness and flourishing of the colony, and of its being free from lawyers of any kind, the poor miserable settlers and inhabitants were exposed to as arbitrary a government as Turkey or Muscovy ever felt. Very looks were criminal, and the grand sin of withstanding, or any way opposing authority, as it was called when a person insisted upon his just rights and privileges, was punished without mercy. Nevertheless, we bore all these things patiently, in full hopes that the trustees' eyes would soon be opened, and then our grievances be redressed, and still continued exhausting our substance in pursuing an impracticable scheme, namely, cultivating land to advantage in such a climate with white servants only, not doubting but that the Parliament who yearly repeated their bounty would make up our damages. But alas, their bounty was applied in Georgia rather to the hurt than benefit of the

colony, as we shall here briefly relate. First, a lighthouse was set about, but before the frame was erected it was almost half rotten, and has not been carried on any farther, nor never even covered, which has likewise greatly contributed to its decay; and now that lofty fabric, so highly useful to vessels which make that coast, is either fallen or must fall very soon. Log houses and prisons, of various sorts, were built and erased successively, and most part of them were fitter for dungeons in the Spanish inquisition than British goals. Irons, whipping-posts, * gibbets, etc., were provided to keep the inhabitants in perpetual terror, for innocence was no protection. And for some time there were more imprisonments, whippings, etc., of white people in that colony of liberty, than in all British America besides. Corn-mills, saw-mills, public roads, trustees' plantations, as they were called, wells and forts, in different places were all set about, but, as is evident from the event, with no design to serve the public, but only to amuse the world, and maintain some creatures who assisted in keeping their neighbors in subjection, for few or none of these things were ever brought to perfection; some of them were left off half finished, and of those that were finished some were erased, being found of no service, and others fell of themselves for want of proper care. To carry on the manufactures of silk and wine, a garden was planted with mulberries and vines, which was to be a nursery to supply the rest of the province. But this was as far from answering the proposed end as everything else was, for it is situated upon one of the most barren spots of land in the colony, being only a large hill of dry sand. Great sums of money were thrown away upon it from year to year, to no purpose. This was remonstrated to the trustees, and they seemed to be sensible of the error, and gave orders to choose another spot of ground, but the ruling powers in Georgia took no notice thereof. And now, after so great time and charge, there are not so many mulberry trees in all the province of Georgia as many one of the Carolina planters have upon their plantations; nor so much silk made there in one year as many of those planters do make. Nor could they ever, in that garden, raise one vine to the perfection of bearing fruit. And here

*It was a very usual thing with General Oglethorpe, when any persons had incurred his displeasure, to threaten to hang them.

it may be observed, that the silk Mr. Oglethorpe carried over for a present to Queen Caroline, was most of it, if not all, made in Carolina. Though no proper measures were ever taken for advancing the silk and wine manufactures, yet private persons made several essays towards the culture of European grapes; but even such attempts met with no suitable encouragement from Mr. Oglethorpe, as will appear from the following fact: Abraham De Leon, a Jew, who had been many years a vineron in Portugal, and a freeholder in Savannah, cultivated several kinds of grapes in his garden, and, amongst others, the Porto and Malaga to great perfection. Of this he sent home an attested account to the board of trustees, proposing further, that if they would lend him, upon such security as he offered, two hundred pounds sterling for three years without interest, that he would employ the said sum, with a further stock of his own, in sending to Portugal and bringing over vines and vine-rons, and that he should be bound to repay the money in three years, and to have growing within the colony forty thousand such vines, which he would furnish the freeholders with at moderate rates.

The trustees were satisfied with the security, and accepted the proposal, and wrote him, that they had remitted the two hundred pounds by Mr. Oglethorpe for his use, which he did not deny when applied to by the said Leon for the same, but said that he could not advance more than twenty or thirty pounds, in regard he had other uses for the money, and so that design dropped.

In February, 1735-6, Mr. Oglethorpe arrived in Georgia for the second time, with great numbers of people, in order to settle to the southward, where he soon after carried them. Upon the island of St. Simons he settled a town, which he called Frederica; and about five miles distance from thence, towards the sea, he placed the independant company which he removed from Port Royal in Carolina, their former station. On one of the branches of the Alatamaha he settled the Highlanders in a village which was called Darien. Then he settled a fort on Cumberland which he named St. Andrews; and sometime after he caused a garrison of about fifty men to be placed upon a sandy island, without fresh water, in the mouth of St. John's river, opposite to a Spanish look-out, where possession was

kept for about six months, and several fortifications built, but at last he was obliged to abandon it, after several people had lost their lives by the inconveniences of the place, besides great sums of money thrown away in vain.

While things thus passed in the southern part of the province, Mr. Causton was not idle at Savannah, and one would have thought that he made it his particular design further to exasperate the people of Carolina. He stopped their boats who were going up to New Windsor, and not content with that, he caused them to be searched and whatever rum was found therein, was directly staved, in pursuance of an act, as he alledged, entitled, "An Act against the importation of rum into the colony of Georgia." To complain of this, and to represent the bad state of the Indian trade, a committee from the assembly of South Carolina arrived at Savannah in July, 1736, where Mr. Oglethorpe then was. But their coming was of little consequence, for after this the differences and animosities between the two provinces rather increased than diminished, and we shall only observe, that one thing is certain, that ever since Mr. Oglethorpe intermeddled in the Indian trade it has decayed apace, and at this time is almost entirely good for nothing either in one or the other province.

Thus, while the province of Carolina resented the bad treatment they had met with from the leading powers in Georgia against the colony in general, the poor inhabitants were doubly unfortunate, being ill looked upon by their nearest neighbors and friends, for the actings of their governors, while they themselves were still the greatest sufferers by those very actings.

While Mr. Oglethorpe staid in Georgia, great complaints were made against the arbitrary proceedings of Mr. Causton, but to no purpose. Likewise several persons endeavored to show the impossibility of the colony's succeeding, according to its then present constitution. But if this was done in his hearing, he either always brow-beat the person or evaded the discourse; if by letters, he never made any answer to them, even although he had given public orders that every person should give in their grievances and complaints to him in writing, and that he would consider and answer the same. But that we might not be entirely ignorant of his thoughts, Mr. Causton,

who always spoke his sentiments, publicly declared that we had neither lands, rights, nor possessions ; that the trustees gave and that the trustees could freely take away. And again, when he was told that the lighthouse wanted a few spike nails to fasten some of its braces which were loose, and which might occasion the downfall of the whole fabric, he answered that he would say as Mr. Oglethorpe said, it might fall and be d——d. Mr. Oglethorpe staid in Georgia until November, 1736, most of which time he spent to the southward, and then embarked for England, leaving Mr. Causton with the same authority he had formerly invested him with and in the same power he then exercised, and the colony under the same difficulties and hardships.

In March thereafter we had advice of the Spaniards' intentions of attacking the colony from the Havannah. This put the whole province in great consternation, especially the town of Savannah ; they having neither fort, battery, nor any other place to shelter themselves in, in case of any actual attack ; therefore they immediatly set about building a wooden fort, and all sorts of people labored continually until it was in some measure finished ; only Mr. Causton never came to the work, but did all he could to retard it, making light of the information, although it was sent express by Commodore Dent, with a letter directed to the commander-in-chief of Georgia ; and has since been put out of all manner of doubt, the Spaniards having at that time four thousand men embarked and ready to sail, if an extraordinary accident had not prevented *them. People now seeing the little care that was likely to be taken in case of a real attack ; and likewise finding, to their cost, that the improvement of land was a vain and fruitless labor with white servants only, and with such restrictions and precarious titles, many began to withdraw and leave the colony, and very little was planted this season.

And now to make our subjection the more complete, a new kind of tyranny was this summer begun to be imposed upon us ; for Mr. John Wesley who had come over and was received by us as a clergyman of the Church of England, soon discovered that his aim was to enslave our minds, as a

*They were detained eight days at the Havannah by contrary winds (the land forces being on board all that time) at the end of which there came orders from old Spain to forbear hostilities, the convention being then agreed upon.

necessary preparative for enslaving our bodies. The attendances upon prayers, meetings, and sermons inculcated by him so frequently and at improper hours, inconsistent with necessary labor, especially in an infant colony, tended to propagate a spirit of indolence and of hypocrisy amongst the most abandoned; it being much easier for such persons, by an affected show of religion, and adherence to Mr. Wesley's novelities, to be provided by his procurement from the public stores, than to use that industry which true religion recommends: nor indeed could the reverend gentlemen conceal the designs he was so full of, having frequently declared that he never desired to see Georgia a rich, but a *religious colony.

At last all persons of any consideration came to look upon him as a Roman Catholic, for which the following reasons seemed pretty convincing:

First, under an affected strict adherence to the Church of England, he most unmercifully damned all dissenters of whatever denomination, who were never admitted to communicate with him until they first gave up their faith and principles entirely to his moulding and direction, and in confirmation thereof declared their belief of the invalidity of their former baptism, and then to receive a new one from him. This was done publicly on the persons of Richard Turner, carpenter, and his son. Another instance was that of William Gaff, who had once communicated and always conformed to his regulations, but was at last found out by Mr. Wesley to have been baptised by a Presbyterian dissenter; the same thing was proposed to him, but Mr. Gaff not inclinable to go that length, was ever thereafter excluded from the communion.

Second, while all dissenters (whereof a considerable number was in the colony) were thus unmercifully damned, and shut out of religious ordinances contrary to that spirit of moderation and tenderness which the Church of England show towards them, persons suspected to be Roman Catholics were received and caressed by him as his first-rate saints.

Third, a third confirmation of this suspicion arose from his endeavour to establish confession, penance, mortifications, mixing wine with water in the sacrament, and suppressing in the administration of the sacrament the explanation adjoined

*According to his system.

to the words of communicating by the Church of England, to show that they mean a feeding on Christ by faith, saying, no more than "The body of Christ; the blood of Christ;" by appointing deaconesses, with sundry other innovations, which he called apostolic constitutions.

Fourth, as there is always a strict connection between popery and slavery, so the design of this fine scheme seemed to the most judicious to be calculated to debase and depress the minds of the people, to break any spirit of liberty, and humble them with fastings, penances, drinking of water, and a thorough subjection to the spiritual jurisdiction which he asserted was to be established in his person; and when this should be accomplished, the minds of people would be equally prepared for the receiving civil or ecclesiastical tyranny.

All Jesuitical arts were made use of to bring the well-concerted scheme to perfection; families were divided in parties; spies were engaged in many houses, and the servants of others bribed and decoyed to let him into all the secrets of the families they belonged to; nay, those who had given themselves up to his spiritual guidance (more especially women) were obliged to discover to him their most secret actions, nay even their thoughts and the subject of their dreams. At the same time he gave charge to juries; gave his opinion in all civil causes that came before the court. Nor could we imagine what all this would end in. Complain we might, but to no purpose. And Mr. Causton and he went hand-in-hand.

But the merciful Providence of God disappoints frequently those designs that are laid deepest in human prudence.

Mr. Wesly at this time repulsed Mrs. Sophia Williamson, neice to Mr. Causton, from the sacrament. This young lady was by her friends put under the ghostly care of Mr. Wesly, who was pleased to make proposals of marriage to her. These she always rejected, and in some little time married Mr. William Williamson of Savannah, much contrary to Mr. Wesly's inclination. After the said marriage Mr. Wesly used all means to create a misunderstanding between Mrs. Williamson and her husband, by persuading her, that Mr. Williamson had no right to regulate her behavior as to conversing with him, or attending meetings as formerly; but at last finding he could gain nothing upon her, and that Mr. Williamson had forbade him any

conversation with his wife out of his presence, he took the foresaid means, by repelling her from the holy communion, of showing his resentment. Mr. Williamson thought himself well founded in an action of damages; and Mr. Wesly (being no longer supported by Mr. Causton, who was highly nettled at the affront put upon his niece, and could now declaim as fluently against spiritual tyranny as any person) was indicted before a grand jury of forty-four free-holders, and thirteen indictments were found against him; one concerning Mr. Williamson and his spouse, the others concerning the grievances we felt by his measures, and the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions, as above related. These last were given in to the magistrates, to be by them laid before the trustees, that these our grievances might in time coming, be properly redressed, (we having no other jurisdiction, either civil or ecclesiastical, that we could make application to). Then the grand jury began to consider and think that as it was not probable a greater number of the better sort of people could ever be legally met together, so this was a fit time to represent their grievances and hardships to the trustees, which they did in the following manner:

AN ABSTRACT OF THE REPRESENTATION OF THE GRAND JURY
OF SAVANNAH, TO THE HONORABLE THE TRUSTEES.

‘WE, the grand jury, duly sworn on the twenty-second of
‘the last month, and having divers matters laid before
‘us which we humbly conceive cannot properly be presented
‘to this court, because several of the said matters touch the
‘proceedings of the magistrates of the said court, and contain
‘sundry articles setting forth many public necessities and
‘hardships, which can only be remedied by your honors’
‘authority; therefore, we the said grand jury having examined
‘several witnesses, do, upon our oaths, represent to your
‘honors the following grievances, hardships, and necessities.

‘That as the inhabitants of this town and county have
‘been and are still subject to many inconveniences for want
‘of a body of the laws and constitutions of this province, it
‘being exceedingly difficult in many cases, both for grand and
‘petit jurors, to discharge in a proper manner the great duties
‘that are incumbent on them by their oaths; so we hope your

‘honors will assist us, that we may be enabled well and truly
‘to execute our duties as aforesaid.

‘That Thomas Causton, by his arbitrary proceedings, hath
‘endeavored to render the power and proceedings of grand
‘juries ineffectual, especially this grand jury, by intruding upon
‘it when enclosed and about business, and using the members
‘thereof with great haughtiness and ill-nature, and threatening
‘to dissolve them.

‘That the said Thomas Causton, by his office of store-
‘keeper, hath the dangerous power in his hands of alluring
‘weak-minded people to comply with unjust measurers, and
‘also overawing others from making just complaints and repre-
‘sentations to your honors; and the known implacability of
‘the said Causton, and his frequent threatening of such people,
‘is to many weak-minded though well-disposed persons, a
‘strong bulwark against their seeking redress, by making
‘proper complaints and just representations to you their
‘benefactors, patrons, and protectors.

‘That the said Causton has made great advancements on
‘provisions and goods sold out of the trustees’ store to the
‘inhabitants, contrary to Mr. Oglethorpe’s promise when he
‘first settled this colony, and contrary, as we apprehend, to
‘your honors’ good intentions, and greatly detrimental to the
‘prosperity of the colony; and that he hath refused to pay the
‘public debts otherwise than in provisions at these dear rates,
‘and sometimes bad and unwholesome, out of the public store,
‘whereby the inhabitants were greatly distressed, and some
‘have been obliged to leave the province.

‘That whereas, one John White, who had been committed
‘for felony, at the suit of William Aglionby, and he, the said
‘Aglionby, was bound to prosecute the same at next court,
‘notwithstanding he, the said White, was removed before that
‘time by a warrant under the hand and seal of Thomas
‘Christie, and, as we think, by the advice and command of
‘Thomas Causton, by which means we imagine the criminal
‘has escaped justice, to the great encouragement of enormous
‘offenders, contrary, as we conceive, to the laws of our
‘country, the peace of our sovereign lord the King, his crown
‘and dignity, and particularly to the welfare of this your
‘colony.

‘That the said Causton did greatly discourage the inhabitants of this town and county, in the measures they had taken for the defence and safety of this place in the late alarm from the Spaniards; for, although almost everybody, masters and servants, labored continually in making a fort to defend themselves in case of necessity, yet he, the said Causton, never came nigh the work, but by his words and behavior did all he could to prevent it, until at last the people were obliged to leave off the work unfinished, contrary to the welfare and safety of this colony.

‘That the said Causton hath greatly prevented and discouraged the cultivation of lands by his hindering people to settle on the tracts that were allotted to them by the trustees, whereby several people have been greatly distressed, and some almost ruined, contrary (as we humbly conceive) to your honors’ good intention, and the principal part of your glorious undertaking.

‘That the said Thomas Causton, in order to color his illegal proceedings, hath uttered words to this or the like purpose, ‘We do not stand upon our feet; we do not know either our laws or liberties, nor what the trustees intend; a magistrate cannot act to strict forms, but may dismiss matters of petty felony in the easiest manner’, thereby claiming to himself, as we humbly conceive, a dispensing power fatal to the liberties of British subjects, and contrary, etc.

‘The want of public roads hath been greatly detrimental to many who have settlements at any distance from this place, and some have lost, and are still liable to lose great part of their crops, through the difficulty of passing to and from their plantations.

‘That the great want of servants in this town and county doth render the freeholders thereof incapable of proceeding with proper vigor in the cultivating their lands; and as the Honorable James Oglethorpe, Esq., did generously promise that your honors would be pleased to give this colony continual assistance by sending over servants to the said freeholders at reasonable rates; therefore, we do, with all humility, lay before your honors the great and general want of servants in this town and county, not doubting your timely assistance therein.

‘That the town of Savannah stands in the utmost need of having a good wharf and crane, for the conveniency of both strangers and inhabitants, they being at double pains and costs in landing and getting their goods up the bluff.

‘That the lighthouse of Tybee, which with great labor and (as we humbly conceive) vast expense to your honors, remains unfinished and uncovered, by reason of which that most necessary and lofty structure is subject to all the injuries of weather, and may totally decay if not in time prevented, which will be greatly detrimental to the trade, navigation, and welfare of this colony.

‘That the inhabitants of this town and county are at vast expense in time of sickness, especially they who have most servants, it being a general misfortune that, during the hot season of the year, hardly one-half of the servants are able to do their masters any work, by reason of the violent sicknesses which hath very much prevented the inhabitants from making improvements.

‘It is without the least personal resentment to Mr. Causton, or any other person, that we do, with the most profound respect and duty, lay before your honors the foregoing grievances, hardships, and necessities; and it is not the persons or personal infirmities of any of the magistrates we blame, but such of their actions and words as, we humbly conceive, tends to the subversion of our laws and liberties; and we are firmly persuaded that Mr. Causton would not have impanelled this grand jury on an affair that so nearly concerned him as that of his niece’s did, if he had not believed the several persons of this grand jury to be men of strict integrity, and no way prejudiced against him; and as we, the said grand jury, are, for the time being, appointed for the solemn representation of truth, we humbly hope your honors will consider this our representation as proceeding from a strict, impartial, and sound enquiry.

‘In witness, etc., this first day of September, 1737.”

The original of this was signed by all the forty-four, and sent home, but was taken no notice of by the trustees for anything ever we heard; and we hope it will appear evident to every judicious reader that this jury was neither biased nor intimi-

dated by Causton, to the prejudice of any person whatsoever, as Mr. Wesley asserts in his journal printed at Bristol, 1739. He likewise says there were a professed atheist and deist in the number ; but for our parts, we know of neither. But a man of Mr. Wesley's principles, who makes no scruple of writing willful falsehoods (as may be seen by anybody that compares this narrative with his journal) and of damning every person of a contrary opinion with himself, may, without hesitation, give people what appellations come in his head. However, this put an end to any further prosecution of Mr. Wesley's schemes, for soon after this he departed the colony privately by night and went to Charles-town, and from thence to England.

Mr. Wesley had address enough (as he says in his fore-mentioned journal) to persuade several persons who were members of the grand jury to retract, by some paper which he drew up for them to sign, their former sentiments ; but this, if it was at all, proceeded entirely from the solemn assurances which he gave them that his main design home was to represent the grievances and oppressions which the poor colony labored under, and upon this account was charged with divers letters and papers from private persons, relating to the colony, which he undertook faithfully to deliver. But as we have since found that all Mr. Oglethorpe's interest was employed to protect Mr. Wesley, it is no wonder those promises were never fulfilled ; nor indeed could it ever be ascertained that even the private letters which he carried were so much as delivered.

On the other hand, Mr. Causton ever after bore a mortal hatred to the members of this grand jury, and took every opportunity to show his resentment, and we doubt not but he prevailed upon three or four of them to a recantation, having either terrified or starved them into a compliance. But we bore these things the more patiently, as being satisfied the trustees were gentlemen who had our interest at heart, and who would hear and redress our grievances in due time, and that Mr. Oglethorpe might still be a friend to the colony ; but at last we heard he had procured a regiment for its defence, of which he was made colonel, and that he was likewise made general and commander-in-chief over all his majesty's forces

in South Carolina and Georgia. This news was confirmed by William Stephens, Esq., who was sent over as trustees' secretary, to represent the state and condition of the colony as it really was, and to assist and consult with the magistrates. But Mr. Causton soon found the means to bring over the old gentleman to his interest, or at least to acquiesce in everything he said or did; for he had still the command of the cash and stores, and Mr. Stephens had nothing to live upon but his salary, which he could stop the payment of at pleasure; so our secretary remained passive until Causton's government ended.

At last Mr. Oglethorpe comes over for the third time, in September, with the remainder of his regiment, the other part having come with Colonel Cochran in May. But, alas! this regiment was of no service otherwise than to strengthen us in case of an attack, for we could neither furnish them in clothes, provisions, nor any one thing they wanted. And to put us out of all hopes of bettering our condition, Mr. Oglethorpe was pleased to declare in the court house of Savannah, that as long as he had anything to do with the colony there should neither be allowance of negroes nor alteration in the titles of land; and if any such thing should happen, he would have no further concern with it. The people, thus seeing there was no hope of redress, left the colony daily; and the trustees' credit receiving a great shock by their refusing Mr. Causton's certified accounts, and an entire stop being put to the public store, many poor wretches died of hunger; for at this time Mr. Causton was turned out of all his places and the store was ordered to be sold, in order, as was said, to pay off the trustees' debts. One Thomas Jones, a favorite of Mr. Oglethorpe, whose character we shall have occasion to give afterwards, was put in his place as cash and store-keeper, only with a different title, viz., that of magazine-keeper; for none but the trustees' servants were to be supplied from it. But the contrary soon appeared, for the sola bills that were sent over were ordered to be issued out in the names of William Stephens, Esq., Mr. Thomas Christie and Mr. Thomas Jones, or any two of them; but the other two, agreeing together, entirely excluded Christie, and paid them to whom and for what purpose they thought convenient. They

bought New York cargoes, and any other commodities that could be got in quantities, and put them into the magazine, where they were sold out by Jones in wholesale and retail, for ready money, at exorbitant rates. This trade they have carried on ever since, to their vast advantage, but to the no small distress of the poor people, who are obliged to give at the rate almost of cent per cent. for their provisions. Thus under the color of no store, these two kept as open a one as ever Causton did, and by having the public money at their disposal, the payment of all salaries and pensions coming through their hands, they are become as absolute, with this difference, that Mr. Causton's power in every respect extended over the whole colony when it was most populous and money most plenty, but theirs seems only to affect the wretched remains of Savannah.

We might have imagined that the trustees were somewhat moved with our repeated complaints, and that Mr. Causton's removal was owing thereto. But alas! in this we were mistaken. Nothing (as ever we could understand) was laid to his charge on our account, and it was of small benefit to us, whether the mismanagement of money, which was the reason of his dimission, lies at his or Mr. Oglethorpe's door, and we cannot but here take notice that Mr. Causton's case fortifies the common observation, that those who prostitute themselves to carry on illegal and oppressive schemes, when they have once stuck in the mire, they are forsaken by their employers and despised by all the world besides.

Mr. Oglethorpe staid not long at Savannah, his common residence being at Frederica, where they had, in imitation of us, built a few houses and cleared some land, but finding planting did not answer they left it off, and as soon as the regiment came almost everybody betook themselves to keeping public houses, and in this manner do the few that now remain live.

All the public work being put a stop to, and clearing of land being found impracticable, by which most of us had ruined ourselves, we were in a miserable condition, and all hope from Mr. Oglethorpe being at an end, we could hardly tell what to do; but still thinking the trustees might be ignorant or misinformed of the present condition of the colony, we at last resolved to set forth our grievances in a short and general

representation, to be signed by all the free-holders in the colony, of which the following is an exact copy :

“ To the Honorable the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.

‘ May it please your Honors :

‘ WE, whose names are underwritten, being all settlers, free-holders and inhabitants in the province of Georgia, and being sensible of the great pains and care exerted by you in endeavoring to settle this colony since it has been under your protection and management, do unanimously join to lay before you, with the utmost regret, the following particulars : But in the first place we must beg leave to observe that it has afforded us a great deal of concern and uneasiness that former representations made to you of the same nature have not been thought worthy of due consideration, nor even of an answer. We have most of us settled in this colony in pursuance of the description and recommendation given of it by you in Britain, and from the experience of residing here several years, do find that it is impossible that the measures hitherto laid down and pursued for making it a colony can succeed. None of all those who have planted their land have been able to raise sufficient produce to maintain their families in bread kind only, even though as much application and industry have been exerted to bring it about as could be done by men engaged in an affair on which they believed the welfare of themselves and posterity so much depended, and which they imagined required more than ordinary pains to make succeed ; so that by the accumulated expenses every year, of provisions, clothing, and medicines, for themselves, families, and servants, several hath expended all their money, nay even run considerably in debt, and so been obliged to leave off planting and making further improvements, and those who continue are daily exhausting more and more of their money, and some daily increasing their debt, without a possibility of being reimbursed, according to the present constitution. This being now the general state of the colony, it must be obvious that people cannot subsist by their land, according to the present establishment, and this being a truth

'resulting from trial, practice, and experience, cannot be con-
 'tradicted by any theoretical scheme or reasoning. The land
 'then, according to the present constitution, not being capable
 'to maintain the settlers here, they must unavoidably have
 'recourse to and depend upon trade; but to our woful
 'experience likewise, the same causes that prevented the first
 'obstruct the latter, for though the situation of this place is
 'exceeding well adapted for trade, and if it was encouraged
 'might be much much more improved by the inhabitants, yet
 'the difficulties and restrictions which we hitherto have and at
 'present do labor under, debar us of that advantage. Timber
 'is the only thing we have here which we might export, and
 'notwithstanding we are obliged to fall it in planting our land,
 'yet we cannot manufacture it for a foreign market but at
 'double the expense of other colonies, as for instance, the river
 'of May, which is but twenty miles from us, with the allow-
 'ance of negroes, load vessels with that commodity at one-half
 'of the price that we can do: and what should induce persons
 'to bring ships here when they can be loaded with one-half of
 'the expense so near us; therefore the timber on the land is
 'only a continual charge to the possessors of it, though of very
 'great advantage in all the northern colonies, where negroes
 'are allowed, and consequently labor cheap. We do not in the
 'least doubt but that in time silk and wine may be produced
 'here, especially the former; but since the cultivation of land
 'with white servants only cannot raise provisions for our
 'families as beforementioned, therefore it is likewise impossible
 'to carry on these manufactures according to the present con-
 'stitution. It is very well known that Carolina can raise
 'everything that this colony can, and they having their labor
 'so much cheaper will always ruin our market, unless we are
 'in some measure on a footing with them, and as in both the
 'land is worn out in four or five years, and is then fit for noth-
 'ing but pasture, we must be always at a great deal more
 'expense than they in clearing new land for planting. The
 'importation of the necessaries of life come to us at the most
 'extravagant rate; merchants in general, especially of England,
 'not being willing to supply the settlers here with goods upon
 'commission, because no person here can make them any
 'security of their lands or improvements, as is very often

‘practiced in other places to promote trade, when some of the
 ‘employer’s money is laid out in necessary buildings and
 ‘improvements fitting for the trade intended, without which it
 ‘cannot be carried on. The benefit of importation therefore is
 ‘all to transient persons, who do not lay out any money
 ‘amongst us, but on the contrary carry every penny out of
 ‘the place, and the chief reason for their enhancing the price
 ‘is because they cannot get any goods here either on freight or
 ‘purchase for another market. If the advantage accruing from
 ‘importation centered in the inhabitants, the profit thereof
 ‘would naturally circulate amongst us, and be laid out in
 ‘improvements in the colony. Your honors, we imagine, are
 ‘not insensible of the numbers that have left this province,
 ‘not being able to support themselves and families any longer ;
 ‘and those still remaining, who had money of their own and
 ‘credit with their friends, have laid out most of the former in
 ‘improvements, and lost the latter for doing it on such pre-
 ‘carious titles. And upon account of the present establishment,
 ‘not above two or three persons, except those brought on
 ‘charity, and servants sent by you, have come here for the
 ‘space of two years past, either to settle land or encourage
 ‘trade, neither do we hear of any such likely to come until we
 ‘are on better terms. It is true, his majesty has been grac-
 ‘iously pleased to grant a regiment for the defence of this
 ‘province and our neighboring colony, which indeed will very
 ‘much assist us in defending ourselves against all enemies, but
 ‘otherwise does not in the least contribute to our support, for
 ‘all that part of their pay which is expended here is laid out
 ‘with transient people, and our neighbors in Carolina, who are
 ‘capable to supply them with provisions and other necessities
 ‘at a moderate price, which we, as before observed, are not at
 ‘all capable to do upon the present establishment. This, then,
 ‘being our present condition, it is obvious what the conse-
 ‘quence must be.

‘But we, for our parts, have entirely relied on and confided
 ‘in your good intentions, believing you would redress any
 ‘grievances that should appear ; and now by our long exper-
 ‘ience from industry and continual application to improvement
 ‘of land here, do find it impossible to pursue it, or even to
 ‘subsist ourselves any longer, according to the present nature

' of the constitution, and likewise believing you will agree to
 ' those measures that are found from experience capable to
 ' make this colony succeed, and to promote which we have
 ' consumed our money, time, and labor, we do, from a sincere
 ' regard to its welfare, and in duty both to you and ourselves,
 ' beg leave to lay before your immediate consideration the two
 ' following chief causes of these our present misfortunes, and
 ' this deplorable state of the colony, and which we are certain,
 ' if granted, would be an infallible remedy for both.

' 1. The want of a free title or fee-simple to our lands,
 ' which if granted would both induce great numbers of new
 ' settlers to come amongst us, and likewise encourage those
 ' who remain here cheerfully to proceed in making further
 ' improvements, as well to retrieve their sunk fortunes as to
 ' make provisions for their posterity.

' 2. The want of the use of negroes, with proper limitations,
 ' which if granted would both occasion great numbers of white
 ' people to come here, and also render us capable to subsist
 ' ourselves, by raising provisions upon our lands, until we
 ' could make some produce fit for export, in some measure
 ' to balance our importation. We are very sensible of the
 ' inconveniences and mischiefs that have already, and do daily
 ' arise from an unlimited use of negroes, but we are as sensi-
 ' ble that these may be prevented by a due limitation, such as
 ' so many to each white man, or so many to such a quantity of
 ' land, or in any other manner which your honors shall think
 ' most proper.

' By granting us gentlemen, these two particulars, and such
 ' other privileges as his majesty's most dutiful subjects in
 ' America enjoy, you will not only prevent our impending
 ' ruin, but, we are fully satisfied, also will soon make this the
 ' most flourishing colony possessed by his majesty in America,
 ' and your memories will be perpetuated to all future ages, our
 ' latest posterity sounding your praises, as their first founders,
 ' patrons, and guardians; but if, by denying us these privileges
 ' we ourselves and families are not only ruined, but even our
 ' posterity likewise, you will always be mentioned as the cause
 ' and authors of all their misfortunes and calamities, which we
 ' hope will never happen.

'We are, with all due respect, your honors' most dutiful and
'obedient servants,

'Savannah, December 9th, 1738.

' Henry Parker,	} Magistrates	Thomas Trip,
his		Samuel Holms,
' Robert R. G. Gilbert,		James Muer,
Mark		William Parker,
' Thomas Christie,		John Grhame,
' John Fallowfield,		James Papot,
' John Brownfield,		John Smith,
' William Woodroofe,		William Calvert,
' Patrick Tailfer,		Stephen Marrauld,
' Andrew Grant,		Richard Mellechamp,
' Robert Williams,		Isaac Young, Sr.,
' Samuel Mercer,		James Dormer,
' Patrick Grhame,		William Carter,
' David Douglass,		Henry Moulton,
' Thomas Bailie,		Jacob Watts,
' Hugh Anderson,		Henry Manley,
' James Williams,		Samuel Parker,
' Edward Jenkins,		Stephen Mounfoord,
' Thomas Ormston,		David Gender,
' Joseph Wardrope,		James Chainsae,
' George Bunckle,		James Landry,
' Adam Loyer,		Lewis Stamon,
' Peter Joubart,		William Starflichtet,
' John Burton,		Simon Rieuwere,
' Robert Hows,		John Young,
' William Meers,		Samuel Lacy,
' Thomas Salter,		Peter Baillow,
' James Bailow,		Peter Emry,
' James Anderson,		William Elbert,
' William Greenfield,		James Houston,
' Christopher Greenfield,		Isaac Young,
' Thomas Young, Sr.,		Robert Hanks,
' Henry Green,		Archibald Glen,
' Peter Tector,		Thomas Neal,
' Hugh Frazer,		Stephen Tarrien,
' John Sallie,		James Smith,
' James Carwells,		Samuel Ward,
' John Lyndall,		Pierre Morelle,
' Joseph Fitzwater,		John Desborough, Jr.,
' Elisha Foster,		Edward Bush,
' Walter Fox,		Benjamin Adams,
' John Penrose,		Charles Britain,
' David Snook,		John Rae,

' Edward Townsend,
 ' John Desborough,
 ' ——— Gorsand,
 ' Andrew Duchee,
 ' James Gallway,
 ' John Kelly,
 ' Joseph Stanley,
 ' Thomas Young,
 ' Thomas Cross,
 ' Richard Davis,
 ' Thomas Tibbet,
 ' James Dean,
 ' Donald Stewart,
 ' John Dudding,
 ' William Ewen,
 ' Henry Loyd,
 ' John Amory,

William Coltbred,
 Thomas Wattle,
 Thomas Bailie,
 James Corneck,
 James Burnside,
 John Teasdale,
 Giles Becou,
 Francis Brooks,
 John Clark,
 George Rush,
 Andrew Walker,
 John Miller,
 Thomas Andrews,
 William Sterling,
 Thomas Gantlet,
 Richard Rogers,
 In all 117."

This representation was signed with the greatest willingness by the above one hundred and seventeen free-holders in the county of Savannah, and only a very few of the General's favorites declined to subscribe the same, so strong appeared to all of them the truths therein contained, and the absolute necessity of such an application. The Jews applied for liberty to sign with us, but we did not think it proper to join them in any of our measures ; we likewise did not allow widows and orphans to subscribe, because as the representation contained the absolute necessities of the colony, it might be objected to us that they were no proper judges. As for the people of Ebenezer, the subscribers did particularly appoint some of their number to wait upon Mr. Boltzius, their pastor, and to show him the representation, which was done, and Mr. Boltzius declared that the Saltzburghers were equally dissatisfied with their rights and restrictions as the other free-holders, and he doubted not their willingness to join in petitioning for redress, engaging to consult them, and to bring their answer, which he never did, and being thereafter questioned thereupon by Mr. Anderson (one of the persons commissioned to commune with him as is above related) in the presence of several gentlemen, he, the said Boltzius, after some frivolous excuses, confessed that the Honorable Mr. Oglethorpe had both given them satisfaction, and engaged him to write home to Germany for a further supply of his countrymen.

This gentlemen (we observe it with regret) has been made the instrument of imposing upon many British subjects by publishing journals and letters (to which we refer) most inconsistent with truth.

Neither did we admit of servants to sign the same, lest it should be objected that they were under the influence of their masters. By this our conduct it will appear to every person of impartiality, how far we were from using arts* to extort by clamor a redress of our grievances.

A copy of the representation was immediately sent to Frederica, and another to Darien. The last was sent to Mr. John More McIntosh, and under the same cover a letter to Mr. Benjamin McIntosh; but the first kept up the other's letter, and sent his own with the representation to the General, who immediately despatched Lieut. George Dunbar (who speaks the Highland language, and has a very fluent and artful way of talking) who, with the assistance of More McIntosh, and promises to the poor people of cattle (which they afterwards got) with several other considerations, soon persuaded them to sign a paper, the design of which, they were told, was to oppose the people of Savannah, who being enemies to the General, were petitioning against him. As for their leader, McIntosh, he was immediately set up in a store, and plentifully supplied with all kinds of goods, and has often declared, that if, by acting as he did, he could live well himself, he did not care what became of the rest of the colony; and as for his children, they might go wander in the woods with the Indians. As soon as it was heard that the representation was come to Frederica, the inhabitants were called together and told that the people of Savannah were going to throw off the government of the trustees, and had associated together for that purpose, and therefore advised them to beware of any snare that might be laid by these people, which, if they were caught in it would ruin them. And thus was the design of the representation quashed both in Darien and Frederica. Some time after this a copy of the representation was sent to Mr. Oglethorpe, together with the following letter, which was wrote by an anonymous author, which we think is partly an explanation of the representation,

*Vide trustees' answer.

and likewise a true view of the situation of the colony at that time, with the character Mr. Oglethorpe then bore in it, and for these reasons we here insert it: It was directed,

“ To the Honorable James Oglethorpe, Esq., General and Commander in Chief over all his majesty’s forces in South Carolina and Georgia, Etc., — at Frederica.

‘ Sir :

I T is the common misfortune of all who act in the higher stations of life, to be surrounded with flatterers, who consult rather the humors, passions, and prejudices of their patrons, than their honor and interest. This should induce every person in such station, who regards his own honor, interest, or fame, to lend an open and attentive ear to truth, in whatever shape or from whatever hand delivered. I, who use this freedom with your excellency, being an anonymous author, have no other bias, motive or interest in view, further than as I am a member of the colony, and a well-wisher to the happiness of society, unless a real and sincere regard to your honor and welfare, and an earnest desire to restore you to that quiet of mind and the now suspended affections of the people, which the present state of affairs must necessarily deprive you of ; it is not, therefore, of consequence to enquire who writes, but what is wrote. I am, sir, a plain-dealer, and shall, with the greatest respect, use you with more sincerity than ceremony ; and if my arguments can attain the desired effect, you will, I doubt not, think me your and the colony’s real friend. When a skillful physician would relieve his patient of a disease, he traces it from the beginning, and examines the sources and progress of it, in order that by finding out the cause, he may the more certainly apply a remedy : in the body politic the same process is necessary to effect a cure. The present languishing and almost desperate condition of the affairs of this province is too obvious to your excellency to need a description. Be pleased then, laying aside prepossession and prejudice, to retire unto yourself, and examine impartially whence the present misfortunes take rise, in order to which, let me present your excellency with a view of the nation’s designs in establishing this colony ; and indeed they were and are nothing unsuitable to a British or Roman

'spirit, to wit : the establishing a strong and numerous settle-
 'ment as a barrier and safeguard of British America ; to
 'employ those persons in effecting this end who were least
 'useful at home, and others who from the reasonableness of
 'the proposals, should voluntarily proffer their service ; to
 'restore liberty and happiness to those who, oppressed by the
 'common misfortunes of mankind, were groaning under the
 'consequences of those misfortunes, and incapable to serve
 'themselves or country at home ; and, lastly, to set afoot such
 'new manufactures as might be most useful to support the
 'colony, or tend to rectify the balance of trade of Great Britain
 'with neighboring nations—a design truly great, founded on
 'the justest policy, and practicable. To suggest that any low
 'private design was ever laid down that might tend to make
 'the adventurers slaves, or, at best, tenants at will ; or that it
 'was a concert to leave the industry and substance of the
 'settlers exposed to satisfy the ambition or covetousness of an
 'after governor, or any particular courtier or party ; or to
 'imagine that the honorable board of trustees, or any of them,
 'could be capable of such a concert ; I say, sir, that such a
 'thought were impious. What wonder then, if numbers of
 'persons, encouraged by his majesty's most ample rights and
 'privileges granted in his royal charter to the honorable trustees,
 'for the behalf of the inhabitants ; from the beautiful descrip-
 'tion of the fertility of the soil and happiness of the climate,
 'and lastly, from a view that Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentleman of the
 'greatest humanity and generosity, was willing to sacrifice his
 'ease, and all those pleasures and enjoyments which his easy
 'circumstances of life entitled him to, in order to be the patron
 'and father of the distressed, and the distinguished friend of
 'his country, society, and human nature ; I say, sir, no
 'wonder if numbers, upon those views, embarked their per-
 'sons, families, and fates in such an adventure. Shall any
 'thing then intervene to render such a noble design abortive,
 'and frustrate those of their expected happiness, or your excel-
 'lency of your deserved honor ? God forbid !

'This colony consists of two sorts of people : either those
 'whom the public sent over and supported, or *volunteers,

* By this word was meant those persons who settled in Georgia upon their own
 expense.

'who were not burdensome to the public. Both now I look
 'upon in the same light, as either party have exhausted their
 'support or private stocks in endeavoring to prosecute the
 'intended plan; but it shall suffice for my argument that so
 'many of each kind have applied themselves to this purpose,
 'as are sufficient to confirm the experiment, that it is impossible
 'for us with British or foreign servants, to afford the lowest
 'necessaries of life, much less to increase our stocks or defray
 'the many exigencies and disappointments that this soil and
 'climate are inevitably exposed to. This I take to be granted;
 'and would to God the success of the colony depended on the
 'laying the most satisfying proof of it! And as for persons
 'who, from selfish views, have imposed upon the credulity of
 'the honorable trustees by representing things in colors dis-
 'tant from the truth, it were superfluous to curse them. I do
 'not say but in time manufactures may be founded more suit-
 'able to the strength and constitution of British servants, that
 'might support and enrich the colony; I heartily pray for that
 'happy period, and should then condemn and dissent from any
 'who would not be content with the present regulation; but as
 'in the interim production of necessaries is absolutely requisite,
 'and under the present establishment impracticable, it follows
 'of course, that either the scheme must be altered, or the
 'design abandoned. At the first it was a trial, now it is an exper-
 'iment; and certainly no man or society need be ashamed to
 'own, that from unforeseen emergencies their hypothesis did
 'misgive; and no person of judgment would censure for want
 'of success where the proposal was probable; but all the world
 'would exclaim against that person or society who, through
 'mistaken notions of honor or positiveness of temper, would
 'persist in pushing an experiment contrary to all probability,
 'to the ruin of the adventurers. How many methods may be
 'found out by the wisdom of the trustees, for remedying this
 'inconvenience, I know not; one only occurs to me, which is,
 'the admitting a certain number of negroes, sufficient to ease
 'the white servants from those labors that are most fatal to a
 'British constitution. I am very sensible of the inconveniencies
 'of an unlimited use of them in a frontier colony; but am as
 'sensible that those inconveniencies may be prevented by
 'prudent regulations; and their admission for executing the

'more laborious parts of culture made the means to attract
 'numbers of white servants, who would otherwise fly the place
 'as a purgatory or charnal-house. If our labor and toil is
 'not capable of producing mere necessities by cultivation of
 'land, much less by trade, and as all the neighboring colonies,
 'by reason of their negroes, prosecute all branches of it
 'at a sixth part of the expense we can, they would forever
 'preclude us from any benefit therefrom. And supposing,
 'what cannot be admitted, that the nation would consent to
 'give a perpetual fund for making up all those deficiencies, what
 'benefit could ever accrue to the nation, or what to the settlers
 'but a present bare sustenance, and what the certain conse-
 'quence but the bequeathing a numerous legacy of orphans to
 'the care of providence, since no period of time can be affixed
 'when such a support would enable us to provide for ourselves?
 'A second reason which disables us to improve either by land
 'or trade, is our want of credit. You know very well that
 'both the mercantile and mechanic part of mankind, live
 'more by credit than stock, and the man who has a probable
 'scheme of improving credit, is naturally entitled to it. As we
 'have no stock further to dispense, either in cultivation or
 'trade, we are reduced to need the support of credit, which the
 'present restrictions of our legal rights and titles to our land
 'deprive us of. It is true, indeed, the trustees have assured
 'us that those and other restrictions are only temporary, and
 'for the welfare of the first settlement, until a proper body of
 'laws, which was upon the carpet, should be perfected, and I
 'am far from disputing the reasonableness of that resolution,
 'while either the public support or private stocks kept us from
 'needing credit, but that now the case is altered, the neces-
 'sity of removing those restrictions is arrived, to preserve the
 'remains of the colony not yet dissolved, and far too late for
 'hundreds whom necessity has dispersed in other corners of
 'the world. This is a truth, sir, too obvious to need further
 'enlargement.

'Hence it is clear, we can insist on demanding our privileges
 'as British subjects, from the trustees promises, but we like-
 'wise claim them as law, justice, and property. Your excel-
 'lency was pleased in the court house of Savannah, to use a
 'comparison to satisfy the minds of the people, of a man who

' would lend his horse but not his saddle, which one refusing
 ' another accepted of. This, I humbly take it, no ways meets
 ' the case. The king's majesty was owner both of horse and
 ' saddle, of lands and rights, and gave us both in his charter.
 ' We ask but what is there given us. The reliance on the
 ' public faith brought us to this colony, and to endeavor to
 ' obviate or disappoint the effects of those promises which
 ' tempted us here were to justify the decoying us to misery
 ' under the sanction of the royal authority, than which nothing
 ' could be more injurious to the fountain of honor. I shall
 ' suppose, that were full and ample rights given, that some
 ' idle persons who had no judgment to value or inclination to
 ' improve their properties, no affections for their families and
 ' relations, might dispose of their rights for a glass of rum, but
 ' I absolutely deny that the colony could lose by such an
 ' exchange. I own such persons were much safer if bound than
 ' at liberty, but where the affection of the parent and the reason
 ' of the man die, the person is a fitter inhabitant for Moorfields
 ' than Georgia. I must notice further that not only are parents
 ' incapable, for want of credit, to provide for themselves, being
 ' necessitated to dispose of their servants for want of provis-
 ' ions, but if they could, only their eldest son could reap the
 ' benefit, their younger children, however numerous, are left
 ' to be fed by Him who feeds the ravens, and if they have no
 ' children their labor and substance descends to strangers.
 ' How, sir, could you, or indeed any free-born spirit, brook such
 ' a tenor. Are not our younger children and daughters equally
 ' entitled to our bowels and affections? And does human
 ' nature end with our first-born, and not extend itself to the
 ' rest of our progeny and more distant relations? And is it
 ' not inverting to the order of nature that the eldest son should
 ' not only enjoy a double portion, but exclude all the other
 ' children, and having an interest independent of the parents,
 ' how natural is it he should withdraw that obedience and sub-
 ' jection which proceeds from parental authority and filial
 ' dependance? The trustees are but a channel to convey to
 ' us the king's rights, and cannot in law or equity, and I dare
 ' say, will not abridge those rights. Can we suppose that we
 ' are singled out for a state of misery and servitude, and that
 ' so many honorable personages are instruments of it? Far

'be the thoughts from us. The genius of the British nation,
 'so remarkably zealous for liberty and the rights of mankind,
 'will never suffer British subjects who have not fled their
 'country for crimes, but voluntarily proffered their service and
 'risked their all upon the confidence of the public faith and
 'the trustees' honor to accomplish a settlement upon the most
 'dangerous point of his majesty's dominions; I say, it will never
 'allow such to be deprived of public promises of the natural
 'liberties of British subjects. As we are on a frontier where
 'our lives and fortunes may more frequently come into
 'dispute than other people's, our privileges and supports
 'should be proportionably greater, for who would venture
 'his life to secure no property, or fight to secure to
 'himself poverty and misery; and no doubt our cunning
 'and vigilant adversaries, the French and Spaniards, would
 'know how to make their own advantage. The king
 'has been very gracious, and your endeavors generous and
 'useful, in procuring a regiment for our protection; but let
 'me add a truth equally certain, that only the flourishing of the
 'colony can support that regiment, and not only the support of
 'the soldiers, but your own honor, glory, and reputation are
 'intermixed with the fate of the colony, and must stand or fall
 'with it.

'To come closer to the point, please to consider the conse-
 'quences of refusing the representation of the colony, whereof
 'your excellency, as one of the honorable board, will be fur-
 'nished with a copy, and how these consequences may affect
 'the colony, the nation, the trustees, the military establish-
 'ment in this province, the Indians, and your excellency.

'As to the colony, the deferring hitherto the necessary
 'relief has already too tragically affected it, by dispersing a
 'great part of the inhabitants; the remainder, in a languishing
 'condition, supported more with faint hopes and a continued
 'reliance on the honor of the nation and trustees, than
 'victuals, while want and meagre famine guard the door of
 'many and render them equally incapable to stay or go. The
 'town, so beautifully situated to the honor of the contriver,
 'bearing the most visible signs of decay and mortality before
 'it is fully born, and the once cultivated plantations, now
 'overgrown with weeds and brush, are so many *hic jacets* of

'such and such persons and families. I wish it were possible
 'to draw a veil over the tragic scene! But, sir, our case is
 'more clamant than a thousand tongues, and will reach the
 'ears and pierce the heart of every true Briton. If such the
 'effects of delay, what will the total dissolution of the colony
 'produce? Such a body of miserable people, orphans, and
 'suppliants will be heard by the justice of the nation, and if it
 'shall appear that the too positively adhering to an impracti-
 'cable scheme, and the refusing those obvious means that
 'would answer the proposed end, or withholding those just
 'rights which we are entitled to, have been the cause, we
 'should have right to recover damages from the authors of our
 'miseries. In all places where settlements were attempted by
 'the English, and found untenable, the settlers were taken
 'home upon public charge, their losses recompensed, and they
 'made otherwise useful to the community; while we are
 'neither allowed to do for ourselves here or elsewhere.

'As to the second point, how the nation would be affected by
 'it, it is first obvious that all the noble ends and advantages they
 'proposed are lost, and sums of money expended to no purpose
 'but to inform the French and Spaniards of the importance of
 'a pass which they would not fail to possess. It were impos-
 'sible to make a second settlement upon the present plan, and
 'if it is to be altered in the favors of others, why not of us
 'who have risked and spent our all in the adventure? How
 'the trustees may be affected by it in all respects, I shall not
 'say; a parliamentary enquiry into their management, I no
 'ways question but they could entirely satisfy; but all good
 'men will regret that so honorable a body should lose that
 'glory and fame which the prosperous success of the colony
 'would have crowned them with. I have formerly asserted
 'that only the flourishing state of the colony can support the
 'military, and indeed, without a colony, it were easier to
 'maintain a garrison in Tangier on the coast of Africa, than in
 'the south of Georgia. One regiment would little suffice to
 'withstand the enemy; and yet so small an handful may be
 'reduced to discontent, straits, and wants, notwithstanding all
 'the bounty of a king or prudence of a general. As to the
 'Indians, what could we expect less than being scorned and
 'despised; that they should immediately fall in with the

‘tempting proffers of the French and Spaniards, and so Great Britain be cut off from that valuable branch of the Indian trade? For how indeed could they expect execution of treaties or protection from people who, without the force of any enemy, could not preserve their own schemes of government from falling to pieces? How the tragedy must affect your excellency would be presumption in me to determine. I only know that to see those you honor with the name of children, in want and misery; that settlement that should have perpetuated your name to posterity with the greatest honor, become the foil of all your great undertakings, and the expectations of all the world, from your promising endeavors, setting in a cloud and obscurity, must affect your excellency in a way suitable to your humane and generous disposition.

‘Sir, we still honor, love, and respect you, whatever low, selfish-minded persons, the bane of society, may surmise to the contrary, and will continue to do so while we can have any hopes of your pursuing measures consistent with our prosperity. But, sir, smiles cannot be expected amidst disappointments and wants, and there is no altering the course of nature. Love and gratitude are the tribute of favors and protection, and resentment the consequence of injuries received; and in disappointments of this nature, much more reasonably than in those of love, do the contrary passions take place in the same degree. What then remains, but that you embrace those obvious measures that will retrieve our desperate affairs; restore to us, in Mr. Oglethorpe, our father and protector, whose honor and affection were depended upon; secure to yourself a society that loves and honors you, and who will always be ready to sacrifice both life and fortune to your honor and protection and your name with blessings will be perpetuated. If in this I have, by a sincere and well-meant freedom, given offense, I heartily ask pardon; none was intended. And I only request, that, while truth keeps the stage, the author may be allowed to remain *incog.* behind the scenes.

I am, sir, your, etc.,

THE PLAIN-DEALER.

This year there was promised a bounty of two shillings sterling on every bushel of corn, and one shilling on every bushel of peas and potatoes raised in the county of Savannah. This induced some to plant, but they were miserably deceived, for few or none of them ever received their full bounty, and not many any part thereof, although if they had received it twice over it could not have answered the end. People being thus, by a chain of disappointments and miseries, most of them rendered incapable to subsist, and toward the end of summer, beginning to despair of having any favorable answer to their representation or hopes of redress, left the colony faster than ever; and when the answer, or rather denial, came over, they went in such numbers that the whole province of South Carolina was overspread with them, and in and about the town of Charles-town alone, this autumn, above fifty Georgians died in misery and want, most of whom were buried at the public charge.

In September a printed paper entitled, "An answer to the Representation, etc.," was sent over and arrived at Savannah, and of which this is an exact copy.

*"The answer of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia
'in America, to the representation from the inhabitants of
'Savannah the 9th day of December, 1738, for altering the
'tenure of the lands and introducing negroes into Georgia.*

*'To the magistrates of the town of Savannah, in the province of
'Georgia.*

THE trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in
'America, have received by the hands of Mr. Benjamin
'Ball, of London, merchant, an attested copy of a representa-
'tion, signed by you the magistrates, and many of the inhabi-
'tants of Savannah, on the 9th of December last, for altering
'the tenure of the lands and introducing negroes into the
'province, transmitted from thence by Mr. Robert Williams.

'The trustees are not surprised to find unwary people
'drawn in by crafty men to join in a design of extorting by
'clamor from the trustees an alteration in the fundamental
'laws, framed for the preservation of the people from those
'very designs.

‘But the trustees cannot but express their astonishment
 ‘that you, the magistrates, appointed by them to be guardians
 ‘of the people by putting those laws in execution should so far
 ‘forget your duty as to put yourselves at the head of this
 ‘attempt.

‘However, they direct you to give the complainants this
 ‘answer from the trustees, that they should deem themselves
 ‘very unfit for the trust reposed in them by his majesty on
 ‘their behalf, if they could be prevailed upon by such an
 ‘irrational attempt to give up a constitution framed with the
 ‘greatest caution for the preservation of liberty and property ;
 ‘and of which the laws against the use of slaves and for the
 ‘entail of lands are the surest foundations.

‘And the trustees are the more confirmed in their opinion
 ‘of the unreasonableness of this demand that they have
 ‘received petitions from the Darien and other parts of the pro-
 ‘vince, representing the inconvenience and danger which must
 ‘arise to the good people of the province from the introduction
 ‘of negroes. And as the trustees themselves are fully con-
 ‘vinced that besides the hazard attending that introduction it
 ‘would destroy all industry among the white inhabitants ; and
 ‘that by giving them a power to alien their lands the colony
 ‘would soon be too like its neighbors, void of white inhabitants,
 ‘filled with blacks, and reduced to be the precarious property
 ‘of a few, equally exposed to domestic treachery and foreign
 ‘invasion ; and therefore the trustees cannot be supposed to
 ‘be in any disposition of granting this request ; and if they
 ‘have not before this signified their dislike of it this delay is to
 ‘be imputed to no other motives but the hopes they had con-
 ‘ceived that time and experience would bring the complainants
 ‘to a better mind. And the trustees readily join issue with
 ‘them in their appeal to posterity, who shall judge between
 ‘them who were their best friends ; those who endeavored to
 ‘preserve for them a property in their lands by tying up the
 ‘hands of their unthrifty progenitors ; or they who wanted a
 ‘power to mortgage or alien them. Who were the best friends
 ‘to the colony, those who with great labor and cost had endeav-
 ‘ored to form a colony of his majesty’s subjects and persecuted
 ‘Protestants from other parts of Europe, had placed them on a
 ‘fruitful soil, and strove to secure them in their possessions by

‘those arts which naturally tend to keep the colony full of
 ‘useful and industrious people, capable both to cultivate
 ‘and defend it; or those, who, to gratify the greedy and
 ‘ambitious views of a few negro merchants, would put it into
 ‘their power to become sole owners of the province by intro-
 ‘ducing their baneful commodity, which, it is well known by
 ‘sad experience, has brought our neighbor colonies to the brink
 ‘of ruin by driving out their white inhabitants, who were their
 ‘glory and strength, to make room for black, who are now
 ‘become the terror of their unadvised masters.

‘Signed by order of the trustees, this twentieth day of
 ‘June, 1739.

‘BENJ. MARTYN,
 ‘Secretary.’

We shall not in this place detain the reader to show the absurdity and insufficiency of the reasons made use of in the above paper, or how improperly it is called an answer to the representatives, but refer them to the whole tenor of this narrative. With this paper came over new commissions for magistrates; viz., Messrs. Thomas Christie, first; John Fallowfield, second, and Thomas Jones, third, bailiffs; and Mr. William Williamson, recorder; and, as if the inhabitants had not been sufficiently punished before by the arbitrary government of Causton, the two offices of storekeeper and magistrate were again joined in one person, which infallibly renders him (whoever he is) absolute in Savannah; and indeed, if the miseries and hardships of the people could have received any addition, they must have done so from the person appointed to execute those offices; namely, Mr. Thomas Jones, third bailiff, as before mentioned, who surpassed Mr. Causton in everything that was bad, without having any one of his good qualifications; and, that he might the more easily govern at pleasure, Mr. Oglethorpe thought proper to supersede the commissions of Messrs. Thomas Christie and William Williamson, and continued Mr. Henry Parker as first magistrate, being sure he was a person that would always be in the interest of whoever was storekeeper, and having no other magistrate to cope with but Mr. Fallowfield, they were certain of overruling him, though his sentiments were never so just; and when the General

heard that some people justly complained that the trustees' commissions were of none effect, he threatened an armed force if they refused to comply.

William Stephens, Esq., Messrs. Thomas Christie, and Thomas Jones were likewise appointed to inspect into Causton's accounts, but Christie was altogether rejected by the other two; nor did they ever do anything to the purpose, indeed, Jones would sometimes hector and domineer over Causton, in as haughty a manner as ever he had formerly done over the meanest person in Savannah.

Although the trustees say in their answer to the representation, that they should think themselves very unfit for the trust reposed in them should they, by an irrational attempt, alter the entail of lands, yet not one month after we had received the aforesaid answer, over comes the following paper; viz.,

"The resolutions of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, in Common Council assembled this twenty-eighth day of August, in the year of our Lord 1739; relating to the Grants and Tenure of Lands within the said Colony.

'WHEREAS, the common council of the said trustees, assembled for that purpose, in the name of the corporation of the said trustees, and under their common seal, have, in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious letters patent, and in execution of the trusts thereby reposed in them, granted and conveyed divers portions of the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in the said letters patent mentioned, to many of his majesty's loving subjects, natural born, and denizens, and others willing to become his subjects and to live under allegiance to his majesty in the said colony, to hold to them respectively, and to the heirs male of their respective bodies, lawfully begotten, or to be begotten, under the several rents, reservations, conditions, and provisos therein contained; and whereas, it hath been represented to the said trustees that many of the persons to whom such grants have been made have no issue male of their respective bodies, and that an alteration in the grants and tenure of the said lands upon

' failure of such issue, and likewise a known certain provision
 ' for the widows of tenants in tail male, would not only en-
 ' courage all such persons cheerfully to go on with their several
 ' improvements, but also be an inducement and means of invit-
 ' ing divers other persons to resort to and settle in said colony,
 ' and greatly tend to the cultivation of the lands, the increase
 ' of the people, and the defence, strength, and security of the
 ' said colony, which the said trustees most earnestly desire to
 ' promote as far as in them lies. It is therefore this day unani-
 ' mously resolved by the common council of the said corpora-
 ' tion, assembled for that purpose, that the grants of lands or
 ' tenements within the said colony heretofore made and here-
 ' after to be made by the said trustees to any person or persons
 ' whatsoever, shall be altered, made, and established in manner
 ' and form following, that is to say, that

' If tenants in tail male of lands or tenements in the said
 ' colony not having done or suffered any act, matter, or thing
 ' whereby his estate therein may be forfeited or determined,
 ' shall happen to die, leaving a widow and one or more child or
 ' children, that then, and in such case, the widow of such tenant
 ' shall hold and enjoy the dwelling house and garden (if any
 ' such there be), and one moiety of such lands and tenements
 ' for and during the term of her life ; the said moiety to be set
 ' out and divided, in case the parties interested therein do not
 ' agree within the space of three months, by the magistrates of
 ' the town court in Georgia nearest thereunto, or any one of
 ' them. And in case such division be made by one of such
 ' magistrates only, then any person or persons finding him, her,
 ' or themselves aggrieved thereby, may, within the space of
 ' three months, appeal to the other three magistrates of the
 ' said town court, whose determination thereof shall be final.
 ' And if such tenant shall happen to die, leaving only a widow
 ' and no child or children, then that such widow shall hold and
 ' enjoy the said dwelling house, garden, and all such lands and
 ' tenements for, and during the term of her life. And in case
 ' the widow of any such tenant, whether he die without issue
 ' by her or not, shall marry again after his decease, then such
 ' person to whom she shall be so married shall, within the space
 ' of twelve months after such marriage, give security to the said
 ' trustees and their successors, whether personal, or otherwise,

'agreeable to such instructions as shall be given by the common
 'council of the said trustees, for maintaining and keeping in
 'repair, during such marriage, the said dwelling house, garden,
 'and other the premises to which she shall be so entitled in
 'right of her former husband; and if such security shall not
 'be given in manner aforesaid within the space of twelve
 'months after such marriage, that then, and in such case, the
 'provision hereby made, or intended to be made for the benefit
 'of such widow, shall cease, determine, and be absolutely void
 'to all intents and purposes, and the said dwelling house, and
 'garden, and all and singular the premises, shall be and enure
 'to such child or children, or to such other person or persons
 'who would be entitled to the same, in case the said widow was
 'naturally dead.

'And if tenant in tail male of lands or tenements in the said
 'colony, not having done or suffered any act, matter, or thing
 'whereby his or her estate therein may be forfeited or deter-
 'mined, shall happen to die, leaving one or more daughter or
 'daughters, and no issue male, then that such lands and tene-
 'ments, if not exceeding eighty acres, shall be holden in tail
 'male by any one of the daughters of such tenant; and if
 'exceeding eighty acres, by any one or more of the daughters
 'of such tenant in tail male, as such tenant shall by his or her
 'last will and testament in writing duly executed in the presence
 'of three or more credible witnesses, direct and appoint; and
 'in default of such direction or appointment, then that such
 'lands and tenements shall be holden in tail male by the eldest
 'of such daughters, and in default of issue male and female,
 'either born in the lifetime of such tenant in tail male, or within
 'nine months after his decease, then that such lands and tene-
 'ments, if not exceeding eighty acres, shall be holden in tail
 'male by any one such person, and if exceeding eighty acres,
 'by any one or more such person or persons, as such tenant
 'in tail male by his or her last will and testament in writings
 'executed as aforesaid, shall direct and appoint, and in default
 'of such direction or appointment, then that such lands and
 'tenements shall be holden in tail male by the heir at law of
 'such tenant, subject nevertheless, in all and every the said
 'cases, to such right of the widow (if any) as aforesaid,
 'provided that such daughter or daughters and all and every

' such person or persons so entitled to hold and enjoy any such
 ' lands and tenements do, within the space of twelve months
 ' after the death of such tenant, personally appear, if residing
 ' in America, and claim the same in any of the town courts in
 ' Georgia, and if residing out of America, then within the space
 ' of eighteen months next after the death of such tenant. And
 ' provided also, that no such devise or appointment shall be
 ' made by any such tenant of lands exceeding eighty acres
 ' in any lesser or smaller portion or parcel than fifty acres to
 ' any one daughter, or other person. And that no daughter or
 ' other person shall be capable of enjoying any devise which
 ' may thereby increase his or her former possession of lands
 ' within the said colony to more than five hundred acres, but
 ' such devise to be void, and the lands thereby given, to descend
 ' in such manner as if no such devise had been made. And in
 ' default of such appearance and claim as aforesaid, that all and
 ' singular the said lands and tenements shall be and remain to
 ' the said trustees and their successors forever. Provided also,
 ' that all and every such estates hereby created or intended to
 ' be created, shall be subject and liable to the several rents,
 ' reservations, provisos, and conditions as in the original grants
 ' thereof are particularly mentioned and contained, save and
 ' except so much thereof as is hereby altered, or intended to be
 ' altered, in case of failure of issue male, and the provision
 ' hereby made, or intended to be made, for widows.

' And that in every grant hereafter to be made by the said
 ' trustees or their successors, of any lands or tenements in the
 ' said colony, all and every grantee therein named, not doing
 ' or suffering any act, matter, or thing whereby his or her estate
 ' therein may be forfeited or determined, shall have good right,
 ' full power, and lawful authority to give and devise the same
 ' by his or her last will and testament in writing, duly executed
 ' in the presence of three or more credible witnesses, in manner
 ' and form following, that is to say, every grantee of lands
 ' not exceeding eighty acres, to any one son or any one daughter
 ' in tail male, and every grantee of lands exceeding eighty
 ' acres, the whole, or any part thereof, but not in lesser lots or
 ' portions than fifty acres to any one devisee, to his or her son
 ' or sons, daughter or daughters, in tail male, and in default of
 ' such devise as aforesaid, then that such lands and tenements

' shall descend to the eldest son in tail male ; and in default of
 ' issue male, to the eldest daughter in tail male, and in default
 ' of issue male and female, then that such lands and tenements
 ' shall be holden in tail male, if not exceeding eighty acres, by
 ' any one such person, and if exceeding eighty acres, by any
 ' one or more such person or persons, but not in any smaller
 ' lot or portion than fifty acres to any one person as such grantee
 ' shall by his or her last will and testament in writing, executed
 ' as aforesaid, direct and appoint, and in default of such direc-
 ' tion or appointment, then that such lands and tenements shall
 ' be holden in tail male by the heir-at-law by such grantee,
 ' subject, nevertheless, to such right of the widow (if any)
 ' as aforesaid, provided, always, that no son, daughter or other
 ' person shall be capable of enjoying any devise which may
 ' thereby increase his or her former possession of land within
 ' the said colony to more than five hundred acres ; but such
 ' devise to be void, and the lands thereby given to descend in
 ' such manner as if no such devise had been made. Provided
 ' also, that such son or sons, daughter or daughters, and all and
 ' every such person or persons entitled to hold and enjoy any
 ' such lands and tenements, do, within the space of twelve
 ' months after the death of such grantee, or of those under
 ' whom they claim, personally appear, if residing in America,
 ' and claim the same in any of the town courts in Georgia, and
 ' if residing out of America, then within the space of eighteen
 ' months next after such death, and in default of such appear-
 ' ance and claim as aforesaid, that all and singular the said
 ' lands and tenements shall be and remain to the said trustees
 ' and their successors forever. And provided, also, that all
 ' and every such estates shall be subject and liable to the like
 ' rents, reservations, provisos, and conditions as in the former
 ' grants of lands heretofore made, save and except so much
 ' thereof as is hereby altered, or intended to be altered, upon
 ' the failure of issue male.

' And it is hereby required that public notice of these reso-
 ' lutions be forthwith given by the magistrates of the respective
 ' town courts in Georgia, and also by the secretary of the said
 ' trustees in London, that all and every the grantees of lands
 ' or tenements within the said colony may enter their respective
 ' claims either at the Georgia office, near Old Palace Yard in

‘Westminster, or in any of the town courts in Georgia, within
 ‘the space of twelve months from the date hereof, to the end
 ‘that they may receive the benefits hereby intended, and that
 ‘proper grants and conveyances in the law may be forthwith
 ‘prepared and executed for that purpose. And it is hereby
 ‘expressly declared that no fee or reward shall be taken for
 ‘the entering of any such claim, directly or indirectly, by any
 ‘person or persons whatsoever.

‘Signed by order of the said Common Council.

‘BENJAMIN MARTYN, Secretary.”

We believe this paper will perplex most people who have not thoroughly studied the law, to make sense of it, and as there were no lawyers in Georgia, it would seem as if it had been sent over with no other end than that it should not be understood, and indeed it rather tended to add to the confusions in the colony than to promote the benefit of it. We can only assure the reader that it had no good effect in Georgia, and that it was kept up there as much as possible from the people, only a fictitious abridgment thereof with the same title and the same way signed, being publicly exhibited in writing; but this was a needless caution, for not one in twenty of them would have understood any one paragraph of it. In October, 1739, the General issues out his proclamation for granting letters of marque and reprisals, and the inhabitants being called together in the court house, he there makes them a very elaborate speech, and, amongst other things, tells them that he was designed against St. Augustine, and if he did not take it, he would leave his bones before the walls thereof; but he is now at Frederica, and, as we have too much reason to believe, this castle is still in the hands of the Spaniards. A little after this we had another instance how much our benefactors had our interest and welfare at heart, for at this time it was given out that all the cattle that were unmarked belonged to the trustees as lords of the manor, and orders were given that they should be marked accordingly, but people strenuously insisting to the contrary, the design was dropped for that time. On the fourth of November Mr. Oglethorpe departed from Savannah, and he now seems to have entirely forgot it, and it is certain that ever since the affair of the representation, according to his own

words, the very name of the place is become hateful to him, as are all those who he thought were ring-leaders in that affair, some of whom he endeavored to threaten and bribe to a recantation, but to little purpose, two or three being the most, to the best of our knowledge, that he could gain, and even those, we believe, never gave anything under their hands. One flagrant instance of the indirect practices he used to draw people into his measures was as follows: *In summer, 1739, when it was thought the representation would have succeeded, Messrs. Grant, Douglass, Stirling, and Bailie, who had been old settlers in the colony, and who had in a manner ruined themselves, as others had done, either by planting or building, wrote to the trustees for an island, and at the same time applied to Mr. Oglethorpe for it; he appeared mighty glad at their resolution, and told them, that if they would agree to what he had to propose, the granting of an island should be nothing in respect to what he would do for them. They told him they would do anything that was consistent with their knowledge and conscience. Then they were dismissed, and the next day they were to know his mind; that being come two of his emissaries were sent separately with proposals, which they afterwards wrote in order to be signed, but refused a copy thereof. These proposals were to the following effect, viz.: To acknowledge they were in the wrong for having any hand in the making or signing the representation, to ask the General's pardon for so doing, and to assert that they believed the colony might flourish according to the then present constitution. These things complied with, they should have what money they were pleased to ask for, with horses, cattle, and everything else they wanted, together with the General's perpetual friendship and assistance. If not complied with, they might expect nothing but his highest resentment. They answered, that they never expected, nor did they think they ever asked for any favors from the General, and as for his resentment, they believed they had already felt the utmost of it. In whatever shape the General wrote home of this affair is not known, but, however, from what he wrote the trustees thought fit, at first, positively to deny their request, in a letter which came to their hands in July, 1740, of which this is an exact copy:

*There are particular affidavits to prove this whole affair.

“To Messrs. Grant, Douglass, and Bailie, at Savannah, in
‘Georgia.

‘Georgia Office, March 25, 1740.

‘Gentlemen:

‘THE trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia have
‘received and read your letter of May 26, 1739, by which
‘they find you have abandoned your settlements upon the
‘Ogeeche river, for the following reasons: Because you are
‘not allowed to have black servants to cultivate your lands,
‘and because you disliked the tenure of your grants.

‘As to the first, you must have seen by the trustees’ answer
‘to the representation of some of the people, that they cannot,
‘and will not break into the constitution of the province by
‘such an introduction of slavery in blacks, and that upon the
‘most mature deliberation, and for the strongest reasons, which
‘indeed are obvious to every considering man, and which they
‘are confirmed in by the danger which has lately threatened
‘South Carolina by the insurrection of negroes, and would be
‘more imminent in Georgia, it being a frontier.

‘As to the last, relating to the tenure of lands, the trustees
‘suppose you may have seen the alteration which they have
‘made since the writing of your letter, and they have no doubt
‘but you are satisfied therewith, as the rest of the colony are.

‘The trustees have likewise received and considered your
‘petition to General Oglethorpe for a settlement on Wilming-
‘ton island, and his answers thereto, which they think are of
‘great force, and therefore they cannot make you a grant there,
‘but hope you will go on improving your settlements on the
‘Ogeeche river, which they perceive by your letter May 26th,
‘that you had made a great progress in.

‘I am, gentlemen, your very humble servant,

‘BENJ. MARTYN,

‘Secretary.”

To this they returned the following answer :

*“ To the honorable the trustees for establishing the colony of
‘ Georgia in America, at their office near Old Palace Yard,
‘ Westminster.*

‘ Honorable gentlemen :

*‘ WE have received a letter signed by your secretary, of the
‘ 25th March last, owning the receipt of ours to the trus-
‘ tees for establishing the Colony of Georgia, dated the 26th
‘ May, 1739, in which we set forth the expense we had been at
‘ in prosecuting our settlement on the Ogeeche river, together
‘ with the impossibility of carrying on any settlement with
‘ success in this colony, according to the present constitution,
‘ as an additional confirmation of which we then presented your
‘ honors with an account current, carried on from the com-
‘ mencement of our settlement on the Ogeeche, and continued
‘ till we were drove thence by the strongest appearances of
‘ destruction, arising from the having expended our all in the
‘ strenuous prosecution of an impracticable scheme ; and here
‘ we must beg leave to observe that it appears to us you have
‘ neither considered our letter or account, otherwise you never
‘ would have advised us to return to a place on which we have
‘ already in vain consumed so much time and money.*

*‘ We have seen and seriously considered every paragraph
‘ of a printed paper, entitled : ‘ The answer of the Trustees for
‘ establishing the Colony of Georgia, in America, to the repre-
‘ sentation from the inhabitants of Savannah,’ which in our
‘ humble opinion is no answer at all, but rather an absolute
‘ refusal of demands to which we are legally entitled, under the
‘ specious pretenses of guardianship and fatherly care, without
‘ having answered one sentence, or confuted by strength of
‘ argument any part of our assertions.*

*‘ Because our neighboring province (of which you are pleased
‘ to take notice) has by an introduction of too great numbers
‘ abused the use of negroes, or because an undoubted property
‘ in our land possessions might prove detrimental or hurtful to
‘ idle, profligate, or abandoned people, it does not at all follow
‘ that we should be debarred the use of negroes for the field,
‘ or the more laborious parts of culture, under prudent limita-*

'tions, or that sober and virtuous men should be deprived of
'just titles to their properties.

'We are surprised that your honors mention the representa-
'tions of the people of the Darien as a confirmation of the
'unreasonableness of our demands, for did your honors know
'the motives by which these people were induced to present
'you with one or more petitions contradictory to our represen-
'tation, the welfare of the colony, and their own consciences,
'we are persuaded you never would have offered them as
'reasons for rejecting the representation from Savannah. They
'were bought with a number of cattle, and extensive promises
'of future rewards; a little present interest made them forget
'or neglect their posterity, whereas the people of this place,
'duly sensible of the miseries and calamities they have suffered,
'and do still labor under, freely and voluntarily put their hands
'to the representation of this part of the province; no artful
'means were used to induce them to it; no artful man or men,
'negro merchants or others, persuaded them to it; dismal
'poverty and the most absolute oppression were the true foun-
'tains from whence our complaints proceeded. But how
'miserably were these inconsiderate, deluded wretches
'rewarded? They were soon after carried against St. Augus-
'tine, placed on a dangerous post, where they were all or most
'of them cut off or taken prisoners by the enemy, which has
'put a period to the settlement of Darien, of which so many
'great things have been falsely reported.

'With regard to our representation, we shall only beg leave
'to make one supposition, which it is almost impossible can
'have happened, viz.: that this and all the other representa-
'tions, letters, suits, or petitions, made to the trustees by
'private or a joint number of persons, have been entirely false
'and groundless. What can have reduced the colony to the
'situation in which it now is? What can have reduced its
'inhabitants to one-sixth part of the number which we have
'known to reside here? Or, lastly, to what is the starving
'and despicable condition of the few who are now left owing?
'Is it not, as well as every other matter which we have before
'urged, owing to and occasioned by the unanswerable reasons
'at different times given and laid before your honors by honest
'men (independent of you) who were and are the chief

‘sufferers in this colony, and who could not be bribed to conceal or terrified from declaring their sentiments ?

‘Your honors may readily and safely join issue with us in our appeal to posterity, who were their best * friends, etc., for it is certain and obvious that if the trustees are resolved to adhere to their present constitution, they or their successors are in no great danger of being called to any account by our posterity in Georgia.

‘We have likewise seen and read the alterations Mr. Martyn mentions to have been made by your honors, with regard to the tenure of lands, together with a fictitious abridgement of the same affixed to the most public places at Savannah.

‘Mr. Martyn, in his letter, is pleased to tell us that your honors imagine we are satisfied therewith, as the rest of the colony are. Some few perhaps may have expressed themselves satisfied, but we will say no worse of such few than that your honors will soon be sensible that even they are deceivers. It’s true, such alterations, and the paper entitled ‘An Answer’ to our representation, above mentioned, are artfully penned and will doubtless for a time amuse even men of the best sense in Europe or elsewhere, who are strangers to the colony of Georgia, but any man of common understanding, or the least penetration, who by an unfortunate experience has been well acquainted with that colony, can easily demonstrate that those very papers are further snares to increase our miseries, as it’s impossible we can be enabled by these alterations to subsist ourselves and families any more than before, far less to put us in a capacity of recovering our already sunk fortunes and loss of time. Some time in the summer of 1739 (whilst we still expected agreeable alterations to have succeeded our representation) we applied more than once to General Oglethorpe, as one of the trustees, for the same tract of land which we have since been refused by your honors. But our petitions and applications were rejected ; and for what reason ? Because indeed we refused to contradict what we had before set forth in our representation, so and become villians, as (we have too much reason to believe) some others on the same occasion were. We would not accept of settlements, sums of money, horses, cattle, and

* Vide answer to the representation.

'other valuable considerations, at the expense of betraying our
 'country and contradicting our consciences by signing a paper
 'which was prepared and offered to us, purporting a repent-
 'ance of the measures we had taken for our own and the
 'relief of other distressed British subjects, and consequently an
 'approbation of a scheme which by all appearance seems to
 'have been calculated and prepared to form a colony of vassals
 'whose properties and liberties were at all times to have been
 'disposed of at the discretion or option of their superiors.

'Such and many other methods of corruption have been too
 'often practiced in this colony, but we refused and scorned
 'such actions from principles of which any honest man ought
 'to be possessed.

'We are not surprised to find that we have in vain applied
 'to your honors in several affairs, when we see you have been
 'hitherto prepossessed by a gentleman of superior interest,
 'with informations and assertions full of resentment, and which
 'we well know cannot stand the test of an impartial examina-
 'tion, but we are amazed and sorry to find that he has had for
 'so many years together, the interest of nominating those who
 'have been appointed from time to time for the administration
 'of justice and making an impartial inquiry into the informing
 'your honors of the real situation of the Colony of Georgia.
 'We say, such who have been implicitly obedient in carrying
 'on his arbitrary schemes of government, and oppressing the
 'inhabitants, as well as conniving at the deceiving your
 'honors and the nation.

'Gentlemen, as we have no favors to ask, or resentments
 'to fear, we may with the greater freedom observe that we are
 'in full hopes that all we can justly ask will be granted us by
 'a British Parliament, who we doubt not will soon make an
 'inquiry into the grievances of oppressed subjects, which have
 'formerly inhabited, or do now inhabit the Colony of Georgia
 '—that colony which has cost such a great expense to the
 'nation, and from which so great benefits were promised and
 'expected.

'We are sensible of the freedoms which have been used
 'with our respective characters in the misrepresentation sent
 'your honors by partial men, nor are we less sensible that the
 'majority of the trustees have been kept in the dark with

‘ regard to our just complaints and representations, or that such
 ‘ complaints have been communicated to them in lights distant
 ‘ from truth, insomuch that we have reason to believe two-
 ‘ thirds of the honorable board are either misinformed of, or are
 ‘ entire strangers to the barbarous and destructive schemes
 ‘ carried on in this miserable colony.

‘ We hope it will ere long appear to your honors and the
 ‘ world (whatever has been advanced to the contrary), that
 ‘ we are honest men, free from any base design, free from any
 ‘ mutinous spirit, who have only stood firm for the recovery of
 ‘ our lost privileges, which have been secretly and under the
 ‘ most specious pretences withdrawn from us by some design-
 ‘ ing and self-interested men.

‘ We should be sorry to write disrespectfully of any one of
 ‘ the trustees, but when distressed and oppressed people arrive
 ‘ at the last extremities, it must be supposed they will neither
 ‘ be ashamed to publish their misfortunes, or afraid of imputing
 ‘ their calamities to the fountain from whence they spring.

‘ Far be it from us in any shape to reflect in general on the
 ‘ honorable board, who we still believe are gentlemen of honor
 ‘ and reputation, who would not be accessory to any sinister
 ‘ or base designs, but we can’t help thinking that they are
 ‘ deluded and brought to pursue measures inconsistent with the
 ‘ welfare and prosperity of the colony by some who, of the
 ‘ whole corporation, are only acquainted with the particular
 ‘ situation of it, and who must therefore wilfully and from design,
 ‘ form and prepare destructive schemes for the perishing inhabi-
 ‘ tants of Georgia, and by unfair representations of persons and
 ‘ things, draw the approbation of the greater part of the hon-
 ‘ orable board to such measures for the oppression of his
 ‘ majesty’s subjects, which they would, if they were impartially
 ‘ informed, scorn to think of, far less agree to.

‘ General Oglethorpe, with all his forces, has been obliged
 ‘ to raise the siege of St. Augustine, and we have reason to
 ‘ believe the impending ruin of this colony will be thereby
 ‘ determined ; for the Spaniards are reinforced, the General’s
 ‘ army harassed and weakened, and the Indians provoked and
 ‘ discontented, so that everything looks with the most dismal
 ‘ aspect. But as his conduct in, and the consequences of
 ‘ these affairs will be soon published to the world, and as we

'doubt not we have already incurred your honors' displeasure
 'by reciting thus freely the many hardships which we have
 'here and formerly asserted to have been the causes of our
 'ruin, we shall now forbear, and conclude by adding that the
 'extremity of our misfortunes has at last rendered us utterly
 'incapable of staying here any longer; and though all the
 'money we have expended on improvements in the colony is
 'now of no advantage to us here, nor can be elsewhere, yet,
 'poor as we are, we shall think ourselves happy when we are
 'gone from a place where nothing but poverty and oppression
 'subsist. Therefore we hope, if ever this or any other paper
 'or letter of ours shall appear in public, your honors will
 'impute such publication to have proceeded from no other
 'motives besides a thorough knowledge of our duty to our-
 'selves, our fellow-subjects and sufferers, and to prevent others
 'for the future from being deluded in the same manner as we
 'have been, who are, with the greatest respect,

'Honorable Gentlemen,

'Your most humble servants,

'Signed,

'DA. DOUGLASS,

'WM. STIRLING,

'THO. BAILLIE,

'Georgia, Savannah, 10 August, 1740."

About the latter end of May, 1740, Mr. Oglethorpe set
 out with his regiment for Florida, and soon after the Carolina
 forces, consisting of about six hundred men, joined him, with
 about three hundred Indians and sixty Highlanders, volunteers
 from Darien, who were buoyed up by the General with the
 mighty hopes of reward, besides several stragglers and boat-
 men from other parts of the province and elsewhere; so that,
 exclusive of six men of war, there might be about fifteen
 hundred effective men assisting at the siege, as it was called,
 of the castle of St. Augustine. But we shall take no further
 notice of this affair than as it has affected or may still affect
 the colony of Georgia. The place being alarmed, the High-
 landers, with some others, making in all one hundred and
 forty-one men, were posted at Musa (this was a small fort
 about a mile distant from the castle, which had been aban-

done by the Spaniards at the General's first approach), where they were soon after attacked by a superior force of the enemy, and a miserable slaughter ensued, scarcely one-third of the number escaping, the others being either killed or taken prisoners. Thus these poor people, who, at the expense of their consciences, signed a representation contrary to their own interest and experience, and gave themselves entirely up to the General's service, by their deaths at once freed his excellency from his debts and promises and put an end to the settlement of Darien; for there are now in that place not one-quarter part of the number who settled there at first, and that is made up chiefly of women and children, and a scout-boat is stationed before the town to prevent any of them from going off.

This siege was raised about the latter end of July. The General, with the remainder of his regiment, returned to Frederica; the Carolina forces were shipped off for that province; the few Georgians that were left repaired, as soon as they were allowed, to their several homes in a miserable condition; and the Indians marched toward their respective countries, very much weakened and discontented. The Cherokees returned, as they came, by Savannah, and of one hundred and ten healthy men, only about twenty got to their nation; the rest either perished by sickness or were slain. And thus ended the campaign in Florida.

During these transactions, Savannah decayed apace, and in August and September, the same year, people went away by twenties in a vessel, insomuch that one would have thought the place must have been entirely forsaken, for in these two months about one hundred souls out of the county of Savannah left the colony. Many others have since left it, and, we believe, more will leave it very soon.

The boats, with their hands, which the General employed at that unfortunate expedition, he neither will pay, subsist, or let depart from that place; however, they are stealing away by degrees; * and at this time, of about five thousand
October, souls that had, at various imbarcations, arrived in the
1740. colony of Georgia, exclusive of the regiment, scarce as many hundreds remain, and those consist of the

*We are now informed, they are all got away, some of them being paid and some not.

Saltzburghers at Ebenezer, who are yearly supported from Germany and England, the people of Frederica, who are supported by means of the regiment, the poor remainder of the Darien, a few orphans, and others under that denomination, supported by Mr. Whitefield, together with some Dutch servants maintained for doing nothing by the trustees, with thirty or forty necessary tools to keep the others in subjection, and those make up the poor remains of the miserable Colony of Georgia.*

Having now brought down this work to the month of October, 1740, being about the time most of the authors of this narrative were obliged to leave that fatal colony, we shall conclude the whole with a geographical and historical account of its present state.

GEORGIA lies in the 30 and 31 degrees of north latitude. The air generally clear, the rains being much shorter as well as heavier than in England; the dews are very great. Thunder and lightning are expected almost every day in May, June, July, and August. They are very terrible, especially to a stranger. During these months, from ten in the morning to four in the afternoon, the sun is extremely scorching, but the sea-breeze sometimes blows from ten till three or four. The winter is nearly the same length as in England, but the mid-day sun is always warm, even when the mornings and evenings are very sharp, and the nights piercing cold.

The land is of four sorts: pine barren, oak land, swamp land, marsh. The pine land is of far the greatest extent, especially near the seacoast. The soil of this is a dry, whitish sand, producing shrubs of several sorts, and between them a harsh coarse kind of grass, which cattle do not love to feed upon, but here and there is a little of a better kind, especially in the savannas, so they call the low watery meadows which are usually intermixed with pine lands. It bears naturally two sorts of fruit; hurtleberries, much like those in England, and chincapin nuts, a dry nut about the size of a small acorn. A laborious man may in one year clear and plant four or five acres of this land. It will produce the first year from two to four bushels of Indian corn, and from four to eight of Indian peas

*It is here to be observed that we have excluded the settlement of Augusta, it being upon a quite different footing.

per acre ; the second year it usually bears much about the same ; the third year less ; the fourth little or nothing. Peaches it bears well, likewise the white mulberry, which serves to feed the silk-worms. The black is about the size of a black cherry and has much the same flavor.

The oak land commonly lies in narrow streaks between pine land and swamps, creeks or rivers. The soil is a blackish sand producing several kinds of oak, bay, laurel, ash, walnut, sumach, and gum trees, a sort of sycamore, dog trees, and hickory. In the choicest part of this land grow persimmon trees, and a few black mulberry and American cherry trees. The common wild grapes are of two sorts, both red. The fox grape grows two or three only on a stalk, is thick skinned, large stoned, of a harsh taste, and of the size of a small cherry ; the cluster grape is of a harsh taste too, and about the size of a white currant. This land requires much labor to clear, but when it is cleared it will bear any grain, for three, four or five years sometimes without laying any manure upon it. An acre of it generally produces ten bushels of Indian corn, besides five of peas, in a year, so that this is justly esteemed the most valuable land in the province, white people being incapable to clear and cultivate the swamps.

A swamp is any low watery place, which is covered with trees or canes. They are here of three sorts, cypress, river, and cane swamps. Cypress swamps are mostly large ponds in and around which cypress grows. Most river swamps are overflowed on every side by the river which runs through or near them. If they were drained they would produce good rice, as would the cane swamps also, which in the meantime are the best feeding for all sorts of cattle.

The marshes are of two sorts. Soft, wet marsh which is all a quagmire and absolutely good for nothing, and hard marsh which is a firm sand ; but, however, at some seasons is good for feeding cattle. Marshes of both sorts abound on the sea islands, which are very numerous, and contain all sorts of land, and upon these chiefly, near creeks and runs of water, cedar trees grow.

We shall only add to the above, that considering no land can be sowed, or at least what is sowed preserved, till the same is enclosed, that five acres is the utmost a very able and labor-

ious man can propose to manage, this being the quantity allotted for the task of a negro in the neighboring province, which negro works four hours each day more than a white man can do.

It must next be noticed that with regard to the above returns, suppose a prosperous season without disappointments, which is not the case in such small improvements as can be expected in an infant colony one year in five, either drought burns or rain drowns the corn and makes the peas fall out of the pod; deer, which no fence can exclude, devour these little settlements in a night, rats and squirrels do the same, birds eat the seed out of the ground and dig up the blade after it is spired, and variety of worms and insects devour one-half of it. But let us suppose none of these evils happened; let us view the amount of the produce valued at the highest rate.

The produce of five acres of pine land raised by one hand the first year :

Indian corn, twenty bushels at 10s. cur-	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
rency per bushel,	1	5	0	Sterling.
Indian peas, forty bushels at ditto,	2	10	0	
<hr/>				
Total of first year's produce,	3	15	0	

The second year the same; the third less, the fourth little or nothing.

Best oak land, five acres, at fifteen bushels of corn and peas per acre, is seventy-five bushels at ditto price, is *4l. 13s. 9d.* sterling.

Let us next consider the maintenance of every single white servant per annum, at the lowest rate, and then the reader will be able to judge whether white people can get their livelihood by planting land in this climate without negroes. And the allowance to the trustees' Dutch servants being the least at which any white servant could be maintained in Georgia, we shall therefore take our estimate from it, which is eight pence sterling per day, or *12l. 3s. 4d.* sterling per annum, so that at a medium the expense is three times greater than the produce, besides tools, medicines, and other necessaries.

We must likewise observe that the proportion of pine barren to either good swamp or oak and hickory land is at least six to one; that the far greater number of the small lots have

none or very little oak land ; and if they had swamp that would bear rice, white people are unable to clear them if they are covered with trees, and though only with canes, which is the easier to cultivate, it were simply impossible to manufacture the rice by white men, the exercise being so severe that no negro can be employed in any other work or labor comparable to it, and many hundreds of them (notwithstanding all the care of their masters) yearly lose their lives by that necessary work.

Savannah stands on a flat bluff (so they term a high land hanging over a creek or river) which rises about forty feet perpendicular from the river, and commands it several miles both upwards and downwards, and if it were not for a point of woods which, about four miles down the river, stretches itself out towards the southeast, one might have a view of the sea and the island of Tybee. The soil is a white sand for above a mile in breadth southeast and northwest ; beyond this, eastward, is a river swamp ; westward, a small body of woodland (in which was the old Indian town) separated by a creek from a large tract of land, which runs upwards along the side of the river for the space of about five miles, and being by far the best near the town, is reserved for the Indians, as General Oglethorpe declares, as are also some of the islands in the river Savannah, and the three most valuable islands upon all the coast of that province, viz., Ossiba, St. Katherine, and Sapula. Southwest of the town is a pine barren that extends about fourteen miles to Vernon river.

On the east side of the town is situated the public garden, being ten acres enclosed on a barren piece of land, where it is hardly possible for what is planted to live, but impossible to thrive, and from this garden were all the planters to have been furnished with mulberry trees, etc.

The plan of the town was beautifully laid out in wards, tithings, and public squares, left at proper distances for markets and public buildings, the whole making an agreeable uniformity.

The public works in this town are: 1. A court-house, being one handsome room with a piazza on three sides ; this likewise serves for a church for divine service, none having been ever built, notwithstanding the trustees in their public

acts acknowledge the receipt of about seven hundred pounds sterling from charitable persons for that express purpose.

2. Opposite to the court-house stands the log-house or prison (which is the only one remaining of five or six that have been successively built in Savannah), that place of terror and support of absolute power in Georgia.

3. Nigh thereto is a house built of logs, at a very great charge, as was said, for the trustees' steward; the foundation below ground is already rotten, * as the whole fabric must be in a short time, for the roof being flat the rain comes in at all parts of it.

4. The storehouse, which has been many times altered and amended at a very great charge, and it now serves as a store for the private benefit of one or two, as before mentioned.

5. The guard-house which was first built on the bluff soon decayed, as did a second, through improper management, this now standing being the third. Several flag-staffs were likewise erected, the last of which, according to common report, cost 50*l.* sterling.

6. A public mill for grinding corn was first erected at a considerable expense in one square of the town, but in about three years' time (without doing the least service) it fell to the ground. In another square of the town a second was set up at a far greater expense, but never finished, and is now erased and converted into a house for entertaining the Indians, and other such like uses.

7. Wells and pumps were made at a great charge, but they were immediately choked up, and never rendered useful, though this grievance was frequently represented both to the General and magistrates; the want of wells obliging the inhabitants to use the river water, which all the summer over is polluted with putrid marshes and the numberless insects that deposit their ova there, together with putrified carcasses of animals and corrupted vegetables, and this no doubt occasioned much of the sickness that swept off many.

Several of the houses which were built by freeholders, for want of heirs male, are fallen to the trustees (even to the prejudice of the lawful creditors of the deceased) and are disposed of as the General thinks proper.

* In August, 1740, a new foundation was begun.

At least two hundred lots were taken up in Savannah, about one hundred and seventy of which were built * upon ; a great many of these are now ruinous, and many more shut up and abandoned, so that the town appears very desolate, scarce one-quarter part of its inhabitants being left, and most of those in a miserable condition for want of the proper necessities of life.

St. Simons island, having on the east the Gulf of Florida, on the other sides branches of the Alatomaha, is about one hundred miles south of Savannah, and extends in length about twenty, in breadth from two to five miles. On the west side of it, on a low bluff, stands Frederica, having woods to the north and south, to the east partly woods, partly savannas, and partly marsh.

The soil is mostly blackish sand ; the fortifications are augmented since the retreat from Augustine, and here lie most of the remains of General Oglethorpe's regiment. Frederica was laid out in form of a crescent, divided into one hundred and forty-four lots, whereof about fifty were built upon ; the number of the inhabitants, notwithstanding of the circulation of the regiment's money, are not above one hundred and twenty men, women, and children, and these are daily stealing away by all possible ways. On the sea point, about five miles south-east of the town were three companies of the soldiers stationed before the attempt upon St. Augustine ; several pretty houses were built by the officers, and many lots set off to the soldiers and entered upon by them ; most, if not all, now desolate. Several of the officers of the regiment brought over servants to cultivate land : Colonel Cochran, twenty servants ; Lieutenant Horton, at Jekyl, sixteen servants ; Captain Gascoign, at least as many ; all gone, and, according to the best of our information, about two hundred of the regiment are diminished.

About twenty miles northwest from St. Simons is Darien, the settlement of the Scots Highlanders ; the town is situate on the mainland, close to a branch of the Alatomaha river, on a bluff twenty feet high ; the town is surrounded on all sides with woods, the soil is a blackish sand. Here were upwards of two hundred and fifty persons settled, who, in the spring of 1736, built a large fort for their own protection, and the poor remains of these are now no more than fifty-three (above two-

* Several of these had more than one house upon them.

thirds of which are women and children) besides eleven of the trustees' servants, enlisted as soldiers, and stationed there under the command of an officer, in order to keep the others from going away, who are nevertheless making their escape daily.

The southernmost settlement in Georgia is Fort St. Andrews, fifty miles south from Frederica, on the southwest side of Cumberland island, upon a high neck of land, which commands the river both ways ; the walls are of wood, filled up with earth, round which are a ditch and palisade ; two companies of General Oglethorpe's regiment were formerly stationed there, but are now mostly drawn to Frederica.

Opposite to Frederica, on the main, were settled Messrs. Carr and Carteret, with above twenty servants, where they cleared a considerable tract of land, but that plantation is now quitted, and their servants either dead or dispersed. We have lately heard from Frederica that the General having stationed ten or twelve men upon this place, they were attacked by Spaniards or Spanish Indians, four were killed, four carried off, and two left wounded.

New Ebenezer, to which the Saltzburghers removed from their former habitation at Old Ebenezer, consists of about one hundred persons, under the government of Mr. Boltzius, their pastor ; they live and labor in a kind of community, and never commix or associate with strangers ; they have been hitherto liberally supported both from Germany and England, and their rights and privileges have been much more extensive than any others in the colony. This town lies six miles eastward from the old, on a high bluff upon the side of Savannah river, and forty miles from Savannah. Near to this place, on a creek of the same river, was built a saw-mill, which cost of the public money above 1500*l.* sterling, but, like most other public works, is now entirely ruinous.

About ten miles east of Ebenezer, on a creek three miles from the river, was the village of Abercorn. In the year 1733 there were ten families settled there, and several afterwards. In the year 1737, Mr. John Brodie, with twelve servants, settled there. But all those are gone, and it is now a heap of ruins.

Four miles below Abercorn, upon the river side, is Josephs-

town, which was the settlement of some Scotch gentlemen, with thirty servants ; but they have now left it, most of their servants having died there.

A mile below, on the river side, is the settlement where Sir Francis Bathurst, with twelve in family and servants, was placed ; now in ruins, without an inhabitant.

A quarter of a mile below was the settlement of Walter Augustine, with six in family. Within this settlement was another mill erected, at the charge of above 800*l.* sterling, all now in ruins, without an inhabitant.

A mile below is Landiloe, the settlement of Mr. Robert Williams, with forty servants, who made large improvements there, and continued for the space of four years, planting each season with great industry in various shapes, still expecting, with the other settlers, an alteration in the constitution ; but at last, having sunk a great deal of money, he was obliged to leave it, with the loss of above two thousand pounds sterling, and it is now uninhabited and very much decayed. Next below that is the five-hundred-acre tract belonging to Dr. Patrick Tailfer, which was settled, but found impracticable to proceed upon by reason of the hardships and restrictions in the colony. Next to that is Mr. Jacob Mathew's plantation (formerly Mr. Musgrove's), called the Cow-pen, who lived there some time with ten servants, but has now left it and keeps only two or three to look after his cattle. Adjoining to this was Mr. Cooksey's settlement, with five in family, now entirely abandoned. Next to this was Captain Watson's plantation, with a good house, now in ruins. All these lie upon the side of the river ; and upon the east and southward were the settlements of Young, Emery, Polhil, and Warwick, all forsaken. Next upon the river side is the Indian land, before mentioned, separated from the foregoing settlements by a creek, and running all along to the town. A little below this creek is a place called Irene, where Mr. John Wesly built a pretty good house for an Indian school ; but he soon wearied of that undertaking, and left it. A little below this is the Indian town called New Yamacra, where the remainder of Tomo Chachi's Indians reside.

Five miles southwest of Savannah, on a small rise, stands the village of Highgate. Twelve families were settled here in

1733, mostly French, now reduced to two. A mile eastward of this is Hampstead, where several German families were settled in 1733, and some others since, now reduced to none.

Five miles southeast of Savannah is Thunderbolt, where there was a good timber fort, and three families with twenty servants were settled; but it is now all in ruins and abandoned.

Four miles south of this is the island of Skiddoway, on the northeast point whereof ten families were settled in 1733; now reduced to none.

A creek divides Skiddoway from Tybee island, on the southeast part of which, fronting the inlet, the lighthouse is built. Twelve families were settled here in 1734, who have now forsaken it.

Twelve miles southward by land from Savannah, is Mr. Houston's plantation, kept with one servant; and about thirty miles from that, up the river Ogeeche, were the settlements of Messrs. Stirling, etc., with twenty-five servants. This place, when they went there, was the southernmost settlement in the colony, and very *remote, so that they were obliged to build, at their own expense and at a considerable charge, a strong wooden fort for their defence. And the said Messrs. Stirling, having resided there about three years with the servants, they were obliged to leave it after having exhausted their fortunes to no purpose in the experiment.

Twenty miles above this, on a high bluff on the same river, stands Fort Argyle.† It is a small, square, wooden fort, musket-proof. Ten families were settled here and about it; now all gone, and the fort itself garrisoned by one officer, one Dutch servant, and one woman, who were lately surprised in the officer's absence, by two prisoners that broke out of the log house in Savannah, and both murdered.

Near the mouth of Vernon river, upon a kind of island (which is called Hope Isle) are the settlements of Messrs. John Fallowfield, Henry Parker, and Noble Jones. They have made some improvements there, but chiefly Mr. Fallowfield, who has a pretty little convenient house and garden, with a considerable stock of hogs and some cattle, etc., and where

*This was the only spot allowed them to settle upon, any other place being refused.

†This is the place where a body of horse called the Southern Rangers, under the command of Captain James Macpherson, were stationed for several years. They were paid by the government of Carolina, but have been discharged for some time past.

he generally resides with his family. Near adjoining to this, upon a piece of land which commands the *Narrows, is a timber building called Jones' Fort, which serves for two uses; namely, to support Mr. Noble Jones, who is commander of it, and to prevent the poor people of Frederica from getting to any other place where they might be able to support themselves.

About three miles southeast of Savannah, upon Augustine creek, lies Oxstead, the settlement of Mr. Thomas Causton, improven by many hands and at a great charge, where he now resides with a few servants. Between Oxstead and the town of Savannah lie: first, Hermitage, the settlement of Mr. Hugh Anderson, who had seventeen in family and servants, but he was obliged both to leave that and retire from the colony about two years ago upon account of the general hardships; second, the settlements of Mr. Thomas Christie and six others belonging to the township of Savannah, all now forsaken; third, the settlements of the Germans of Count Zinzendorff, who were twenty families, which are likewise now entirely abandoned, they having all gone to other colonies.

Upon the west side of Savannah lie the township lots of the Jews, now deserted, they having all gone to other colonies except three or four, as are all others on that quarter excepting one or two. About three miles from Savannah, on the south, the settlement of Mr. William Williamson is in the same condition; and also, the settlement belonging to the trustees adjoining to Mr. Williamson's, which was committed by them to the care of Mr. William Bradley, their steward, to be cultivated and improved by him at their charge, as an example to others and to satisfy themselves what improvements in land were practicable by white servants. The event might have opened the eyes of any that would see. Upwards of twenty, sometimes thirty, servants were employed, above two thousand pounds sterling expended in the experiment, and never so much of any kind of grain raised from it as would have maintained the numbers employed about it six months. It now lies on a par with the most ruinous plantation in Georgia. Part of their Dutch servants have been employed last year by Mr. Thomas Jones upon a new plantation about a mile to the south-

* This is a narrow passage through which boats are obliged to pass and repass in going to and from the southward.

ward of Savannah. They were twenty-five in number and maintained at the expense of 8*l.* sterling each per diem, and we have lately been credibly informed the whole produce did not exceed one hundred bushels of corn.

The Orphan-house is situated fourteen miles southeast of Savannah. This famous work was begun in March, 1740, and during the space of six months there were about one hundred people, men, women, and children, maintained and employed about it, and, according to their own calculation, they have expended near four thousand pounds sterling. But ever since Mr. Whitefield left Georgia, the latter end of August in the same year, it has decayed apace; for, besides those he then carried to the northward with him, a great many have since left them, and their money growing short, they were soon obliged to discharge most of the workmen; besides, of late, many divisions have arisen amongst them; in short, the design seems to be drawing near a period, although at this time the house itself is scarcely half finished. It is built upon a low pine barren, surrounded on one side with a large tract of salt marsh extending to Vernon river, to which they have a passage by water, when the tides are up, for small craft. On the other side it is surrounded with woods. They have cleared about ten acres of ground and have built several houses and huts. The frame of the Orphan-house is up, the roof shingled, and the sides weather-boarded. It is sixty feet in length, forty feet wide. It has two stories besides cellars and garrets; the cellars are built of brick, which likewise serves for a foundation to the whole building. It would certainly be a fine piece of work if finished; but if it were finished, where is the fund for its support? And what service can an Orphan-house be in a desert and a forsaken colony?

About three or four miles from the Orphan-house, on the side of the Vernon river, William Stephens, Esq. (formerly mentioned), has a plantation with five or six servants, who have cleared about seven or eight acres. However, if he reaps no benefit from them, he is at as little charge to maintain them.*

As it would be too tedious to mention particularly the township, or five and forty-five acre lots, being in all about one

* The trustees allow him so many servants and their maintenance.

hundred that were settled, we need only therefore in general say that there are few or none of them but what are in the same condition with those before specified; viz., ruinous and desolate.

The last place we shall mention is Augusta, distant from Savannah two hundred miles up the river, on the same side; it was founded in 1737, at a considerable charge, under the direction of one Mr. Roger Lacy, being at that time agent to the Cherokee nation; it is principally, if not altogether, inhabited by Indian traders and store-keepers, the number of whom may now be about thirty or upwards, and a considerable quantity of corn has been raised there. To account for this singular circumstance we shall only assign two reasons, the first is the goodness of the land, which at so great a distance from the sea is richer than in the maritime parts; the second and chief one is the settlers there are indulged in and connived at the use of negroes, by whom they execute all the laborious parts of culture, and the fact is undoubted and certain that upwards of eighty negroes are now in the settlements belonging to that place. We do not observe this as if it gives us any uneasiness that our fellow-planters are indulging in what is so necessary for their well-being, but we may be allowed to regret that we and so many British subjects who stood much more in need of them, should have been ruined for want of such assistance.

Having now taken a survey of the colony of Georgia, we shall conclude this treatise by taking notice of two or three of the most remarkable transactions in it since October last.

On the tenth day of November a court was called at Savannah, where Colonel Stephens read a paragraph of a letter which he said was from the trustees, desiring the inhabitants to set forth their miseries, hardships, and difficulties, in writing, in order to have the seal of the colony affixed thereto, and so transmitted to the trustees; whereupon Mr. Stephens gave the recorder a paper to read, in which the colony was represented in a most flourishing condition (in the town of Augusta alone there were represented to be white people and pack-horses belonging thereto who were employed in the Indian trade), enumerating the many useful, fine, and curious productions of it, such as hedges with pomegranates

growing upon them, wine, silk, oil, wheat, etc., with many other hyperboles ; this paper Mr. Stephens said he had been at great care and pains about, and which he took to be a just answer to the trustees' letter, with the true state of the colony ; but the poor people seeing the absurdity and falseness of it, soon discovered their dislike thereof by leaving the court-house, and only eighteen persons signed the same, every one of whom were supported in one shape or other by the public. Mr. Fallowfield, then on the bench, used what arguments he could to persuade them that it was reasonable every person should represent his own case to the trustees, and he apprehended the design of the trustees was such, but Stephens, in a passion, said except they would sign this, they should have the public seal to no other paper ; so it was to no purpose what either he or the recorder, Mr. John Py, could urge, who very soon left the court, declaring their dislike and abhorrence of such proceedings ; but immediately they, with the rest of the inhabitants, to the number of above sixty, drew up a remonstrance to the trustees, in which they fully set forth the true state of the colony, with their own miserable condition in it. This paper, and soon after a petition to the king and council, etc., were lately transmitted to the authors hereof, who immediately forwarded them for London, but as the issue thereof is now pending, we do not think it proper to expose them to the public.

On the second of April last a fire broke out by accident in a smith's forge in Savannah which consumed almost one whole square, and in the highest rage of the devouring flames Mr. Thomas Jones stood an idle spectator with his hands in his bosom, and with the utmost unconcernedness, insomuch that when he was applied to by several of the miserable people for a small quantity of gun-powder to blow up an adjoining house in order to prevent the fire from spreading, his answer was, "I can do nothing in it, I have no orders concerning such matters."

We have lately been informed from Frederica, that the General having stationed twelve men upon the place which was the settlement of Messrs. Ker and Carteret before mentioned, they were attacked by Spaniards or Spanish Indians, and four were killed, four carried off, and two wounded.

A good many of the people have come away from Frederica lately, and in order to get off were obliged to make use of

stratagems, such as going a hunting upon the islands, etc. We are informed that some differences have happened between the General and some of the magistrates there, and that in the place of one of them he has appointed one of his waiting boys. Several of the poor remainder of the Darien people have likewise escaped, notwithstanding the body of forces stationed there to prevent them.

Having thus brought this historical narrative within the compass proposed, and endeavored to dispose the materials in as distinct a method and series as the necessary conciseness would allow, we readily admit that the design is far from being complete. To have acquainted the world with all the hardships and oppressions which have been exercised in the Colony of Georgia, must have required both a larger volume than we were capable of publishing and more time than we could bestow. We therefore satisfy ourselves that we have, with care and sincerity, executed so much of the design as may pave the way to any others who can descend more minutely to particulars, and those who are best acquainted with the affairs of that colony will be most capable of judging how tenderly we have touched both persons and things.

It only remains that we, in a few paragraphs, endeavor to exhibit to the view of the reader the real causes of the ruin and desolation of the colony, and those briefly are the following:

1. The representing the climate, soil, etc., of Georgia in false and too flattering colors, at least the not contradicting those accounts when publicly printed and dispersed, and satisfying the world in a true and genuine description thereof.

2. The restricting the tenure of lands from a fee simple to tail-male, cutting off daughters and all other relations.

3. The restraining the proprietor from selling, disposing of, or leasing any possession.

4. The restricting too much the extent of possessions, it being impossible that fifty acres of good land, much less pine barren, could maintain a white family.

5. The laying the planter under a variety of restraints in clearing, fencing, planting, etc., which were impossible to be complied with.

6. The exacting a much higher quit-rent than the richest grounds in North America can bear.

7. But chiefly the denying the use of negroes, and persisting in such denial after, by repeated applications, we had humbly remonstrated the impossibility of making improvements to any advantage with white servants.

8. The denying us the privilege of being judged by the laws of our mother country, and subjecting the lives and fortunes of all people in the colony to one person, or set of men, who assumed the privilege, under the name of a Court of Chancery, of acting according to their own will and fancy.

9. General Oglethorpe's taking upon him to nominate magistrates, appoint justices of the peace, and to do many other such things, without ever exhibiting to the people any legal commission or authority for so doing.

10. The neglecting the proper means for encouraging the silk and wine manufactures, and disposing of the liberal sums contributed by the public, and by private persons, in such ways and channels as to have been of little or no service to the colony.

11. The missapplying or keeping up sums of money which have been appointed for particular uses, such as building a church, etc., several hundreds of pounds sterling, as we are informed, having been lodged in Mr. Oglethorpe's hands for some years by past, for that purpose, and not one stone of it yet laid.

12. The assigning certain fixed tracts of land to those who came to settle in the colony, without any regard to the quality of the ground, occupation, judgment, ability, or inclination of the settler, etc., etc.

By these and many other such hardships the poor inhabitants of Georgia are scattered over the face of the earth; her plantations a wild, her towns a desert, her villages in rubbish, her improvements a by-word, and her liberties a jest. An object of pity to friends, and of insult, contempt and ridicule to enemies.

THE END.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE
LATE WAR, under the Command of COLONELS
FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of
the lake from Erie to Long Point; also the crossing of Niagara
by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and
Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa,
the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the
author (then a captain) and their treatment; together with an
historical account of the Canadas, by SAMUEL WHITE, of
Adams County, Pennsylvania. Baltimore: Published by the
Author. B. Edes, Printer; 1830.

Three hundred signed and numbered copies only of this
scarce little book on the WAR OF 1812, printed from type,
1896. A copy will be mailed postpaid on receipt of price,
\$1.00, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange
Street, Rochester, N. Y.

GEORGE P. HUMPHREY

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER FIVE

SEPTEMBER 1897

AN Account Showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, in America, from its First Establishment. Published per Order of the Honorable the Trustees. London: Printed in the year MDCCXLI. Maryland: Reprinted and sold by Jonas Green, at his Printing Office, in Annapolis, 1742.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by

GEORGE P HUMPHREY

ROCHESTER

Foreign Agents, GAY & BIRD, London, England.

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for Europe and the Colonies. The number for October will contain "Nova Britannia: Offering most excellent fruits by planting in Virginia; exciting all such as be well affected to further the same. London: Printed for Samuel Macham, and are to be sold at his shop in Paul's Church-yard, at the sign of the Bul-head, 1609."

JUST PUBLISHED.

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS; or the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with Useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER, of COOPERS-TOWN, to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: Printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street; 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction especially written for this new edition by James Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, a great-grandson of Judge Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

AN
ACCOUNT
SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF THE
COLONY OF GEORGIA
IN AMERICA,
FROM ITS
FIRST ESTABLISHMENT.

PUBLISHED PER ORDER OF THE
HONORABLE THE TRUSTEES.

LONDON: Printed in the Year MDCCXLI.

MARYLAND: Reprinted and Sold by JONAS GREEN, at His
Printing Office, in Annapolis, 1742.

No 5 SEPTEMBER 1897

COLONIAL TRACTS

Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

THE PREFACE.

IN the year 1741 there was printed and published by P. T. in Charlestown, South Carolina, for the authors, P. T—r, M. D.; H. A—n, M. A.; D. D—s; and others, landholders in Georgia (at that time in Charlestown), a pamphlet entitled, “A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America,” etc., dedicated to his excellency, James Oglethorpe, Esq., general and commander-in-chief of his majesty’s forces in South Carolina and Georgia, etc. The dedication seems a very just introduction to such a narrative, and both the one and the other, the real offspring of such factious and turbulent authors; being a mean, low-witted sneer, a malicious, ill-natured invective against that honorable gentleman, wherein the authors, without any regard for good manners or common civility, treat his excellency (as it were to his face) with such rudeness as ill becomes any person to use, even to an inferior. However, I cannot say but a very fit prelude to such an inconsistent, spiteful, false narrative, as is subjoined to the dedication; a narrative founded in lies and misrepresentations, projected and published by a few persons of no estate, and as little character; persons soured in their tempers, because, not humored in their endeavors of subverting, or at least altering, the constitution of a new settled colony, even in its infancy and before any great experiment was made of advancing and improving it; persons who were under a necessity of banishing themselves from a colony, where, for their seditious and rebellious practices and turbulent, restless spirits, they were every day in danger of being called to account as stirrers up of discontent, and as incendiaries against the peace of the government; persons who had shared deeply in his excellency’s favors, and therefore guilty of the most monstrous sin in nature; viz., ingratitude—for *Si ingratum dixeris, Omnia*. In short, they are persons to whom do most justly belong the character given by the Right Honorable Sir William Young, in a debate concerning the printer of a seditious paper, “That they are men whose daily employment has been for

‘some time to misrepresent the public measures, to disperse scandal, and excite rebellion; who have industriously propagated every murmur of discontent, and preserved every whisper of malevolence from perishing in the birth.’—*Gent. Mag. Supplement to 1741*, p. 682 B.

These are the mighty authors and publishers of the scurrilous narrative! the design of which seems to be pointed chiefly towards obstructing the peopling and further settling the colony of Georgia, and sullyng the character and administration of a gentlemen, who may (without flattery or falsehood), be justly termed the Romulus, father, and founder of Georgia; a gentleman who, without any views but that of enlarging his majesty’s dominions, propagating the protestant religion, promoting the trade of his country, and providing for the wants and necessities of indigent Christians; has voluntarily banished himself from the pleasures of a court, and exposed himself to the repeated dangers of the vast Atlantic Ocean in several perilous and tedious voyages, instead of allowing himself the satisfaction which a plentiful fortune, powerful friends, and great merit entitle him to in England, he has inured himself to the greatest hardships that any the meanest inhabitant of this new colony could be exposed to; his diet has been mouldy bread, or boiled rice instead of bread, salt beef, pork, etc.; his drink has been water; his bed the damp earth, without any other covering than the canopy of heaven to shelter him; and all this to set an example to this new colony how they might bear with such hardships in their new settlements.

His conduct in war falls nothing short of his prudence in private life and policy in public stations, however the same might have been misrepresented to the world with respect to the miscarriage before St. Augustine, the true causes of which are justly to be laid at the door of two sorts of men concerned in that expedition: First, those under a command different from the general, upon whose assistance the success of that expedition chiefly depended, but who entirely left him when their assistance was most wanted; the second sort were those out-guards, who were to give the alarm to the main guard when the Spaniards advanced, but, who, instead of firing their pieces and giving the alarm, flung down their arms and ran away; by which means the slaughter of the men at Musa happened.

And yet, ill-nature will lay the blame of all to his excellency, when, indeed, the miscarriage was occasioned by either neglect of, or disobedience to; the military orders that his excellency had given, or by not being supported by those under a different command, on whom he chiefly depended for success of that attack; but (to his excellency's great surprise) instead of sending their boats and men ashore, according to a result of a council of war held on board one of his majesty's ships, to assist in order to destroy the six galleys wherein the Spaniards' greatest safeguard lay, and which continually fired from under the walls over the river on the land forces, hoisted their sails and went away without giving the least notice of their departure, by which means the garrison was relieved with provisions through the Metanges, a small inlet about four leagues to the southward of the bar, which might have been prevented had those of a different command done their duty. Thus I leave any impartial man to judge the consequence of their departure at so critical a juncture and the fatal effect it produced to his majesty's land forces. However, his excellency's conduct has been approved of at home, and will soon appear in such a light that his enemies will be ashamed of their impudent lies and perhaps pay for their own folly; and how far the ill-nature and impotent malice of the authors of the narrative have carried them beyond the bounds of truth or good manners will appear in the following sheets, which give a true and authentic account of the progress of that colony from its first establishment to the year 1741, which, being published by the order of the honorable the trustees, and printed in London, Anno 1741, is now reprinted here, with no other view than to obviate the prejudices which may be raised in the minds of people by that scandalous narrative, and so may be a means of delivering that new settlement from the ill-effect of such misrepresentations as are handed about by that libel to deter his majesty's subjects from settling in that frontier colony, so necessary for advancing and protecting the trade of this and our mother country on the southernmost part of North America, and extending our colonies both on the Gulf of Florida and Bay of Mexico.

Magna est Veritas, and Prevalebit.

VOL I COLONIAL TRACTS NO 5

AN ACCOUNT SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF
THE COLONY OF GEORGIA IN AMERICA,
FROM ITS FIRST ESTABLISHMENT.

HIS majesty King George the Second, by his letters patent bearing date the ninth of June, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, reciting, amongst many other things, that many of his poor subjects were, through misfortunes and want of employment, reduced to great necessities and would be glad to be settled in any of his majesty's provinces of America, where, by cultivating the lands waste and desolate, they might not only gain a comfortable subsistence, but also strengthen his majesty's colonies and increase the trade, navigation, and wealth of his majesty's realms; and that the provinces in North America had been frequently ravaged by Indian enemies, more especially that of South Carolina, whose southern frontier continued unsettled and lay open to the neighboring savages; and that to relieve the wants of the said poor people, and to protect his majesty's subjects in South Carolina, a regular colony of the said poor people should be settled and established in the southern frontiers of Carolina; did, for the considerations aforesaid, constitute a corporation by the name of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, with capacity to purchase and take lands, to sue and to be sued, to have a common seal, and to choose members of the said corporation on the third Thursday in March, yearly; with restraining clauses, that no member of the said corporation should have any salary, fee, perquisite, benefit, or profit whatsoever for acting therein, or have any office, place, or employment of profit under the said corporation, with a direction for the said corporation every year to lay an account in writing before the lord chancellor, chief justice of the king's bench, master of the rolls, chief justice of the common pleas, and chief baron of the exchequer, or any two

of them, of all moneys or effects by them received or expended for carrying on the good purposes aforesaid, with the power to make by-laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances.

And granted, amongst other things, to the said corporation and their successors, under the reservations therein mentioned, seven undivided parts (the whole into eight equal parts to be divided) of all those lands, countries, and territories situate, lying, and being in that part of South Carolina, in America, which lies from the most northern stream of a river there, commonly called the Savannah, all along the seacoast to the southward unto the most southern stream of a certain other great water or river, called the Alatomaha, and westward from the heads of the said rivers, respectively, in direct lines to the south seas; to have and to hold the same, to them the said corporation and their successors forever, for the better support of the said colony under the yearly rent of four shillings, proclamation money of South Carolina, for every hundred acres of the said lands forever, which the said corporation should grant, demise, plant, or settle, but not to commence until ten years after such grant, demise, planting, or settling. And erected and created the said lands, countries, and territories into one independent and separate province by the name of Georgia, and made the inhabitants who should reside therein free, and not subject to any laws, orders, statutes, or constitutions of South Carolina, except the commander-in-chief of the militia.

And authorized the said corporation for the term of twenty-one years from the date of the said letters patent, to form and prepare laws, statutes, and ordinances for the government of the said colony, not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England, to be presented under their common seal to his majesty in council for his approbation or disallowance, and that the said laws so approved of should be in full force and virtue within the said province. And impowered the common council, for the time being, of the said corporation, or the major part of them, to dispose of, expend, and apply all the moneys and effects belonging to the said corporation, and to make contracts for carrying and effecting the good purposes therein intended, and that they should from time to time appoint a treasurer, secretary, and such other officers, ministers, and servants of the said corporation as they should see proper for

the good management of their affairs, and at their pleasure to remove them and appoint others in their stead; and that they should appoint reasonable salaries, perquisites, and other rewards for their labor or services, and that such officers should be sworn before they act, for the faithful and due execution of their respective offices and places; and declared that the treasurer and secretary, for the time being, should be incapable of being members of said corporation; and granted to the said corporation that it should be lawful for them, their officers or agents, to transport and convey into the said province, such of his majesty's subjects and foreigners as were willing to go and inhabit and reside there; and declared all persons born within the said province, and their children and posterity, to be free denizens as if they had been born within any of his majesty's dominions. And impowered the said common council, in the name of the corporation and under their common seal, to distribute, convey, assign, and set over such particular portions of the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments, unto such of his majesty's subjects and others willing to live in the said colony, upon such terms, and for such estates, and upon such rents, reservations, and conditions as the same might lawfully be granted, and as to the said common council, or the major part of them, should seem fit and proper; provided that no grant should be made of any part of the said lands unto, or in trust for, or for the benefit of, any member of the said corporation; and that no greater quantity of the said lands be granted, either entirely or in parcels, to or to the use of, or in trust for, any one person, than five hundred acres; and declared that all grants made contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, should be absolutely null and void.

And granted that the said corporation, for the term of twenty-one years from the date of the said letters patent, should have power to erect and constitute judicatures and courts of record, or other courts, to be held in his majesty's name, for the hearing and determining of all manner of crimes, offences, pleas, processes, complaints, actions, matters, causes, and things whatsoever, arising or happening within the said province, or between persons inhabiting or residing there; and for awarding and making out executions thereupon. And directed the said corporation to register, or cause to be registered, all leases, grants,

plantings, conveyances, settlements, and improvements whatsoever, as should at any time be made of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments within the said province, and yearly transmit authentic accounts thereof unto the auditor of the plantations, or his deputy, and to the surveyor of South Carolina, to inspect and survey the same, to ascertain the quit-rents that should become due according to the reservation before mentioned; but not to have or take any gratuity, fee, or reward for such survey or inspection, on forfeiture of their office; with a proviso that all leases, grants, and conveyances to be made of any lands within the said province, or a memorial containing the substance or effect thereof, should be registered with the auditor of the plantations within one year from the date thereof, otherwise that the same should be void. And directed that all rents, issues, or profits which should come to the said corporation, issuing or arising out of, or from the said province, should be laid out and applied in such manner as would most improve and enlarge the said colony, and best answer the good purposes therein mentioned, and for defraying all other charges about the same. And directed the said corporation from time to time to give in to one of the secretaries of state, and to the commissioners of trade and plantations, accounts of the progress of the said colony. And directed that the said common council should from time to time, for the said term of twenty-one years from the date of the said letters patent, have power to appoint all such governors, judges, magistrates, ministers, and officers, civil and military, both by sea and land, within the said district, as they should think fit and needful for the government of the said colony (except such officers as should be appointed for managing, collecting, and receiving such of his majesty's revenues as should arise within the said province); with a proviso, that every governor so appointed should be approved by his majesty, and qualify himself as other governors in America are by law required to do, and give security for observing the acts of Parliament relating to trade and navigation, and obeying all instructions from his majesty, or any acting under his authority, pursuant to the said acts. And granted, that the said corporation, for the said term of twenty-one years from the date of the said letters patent, should have power, by any commander or other officer for that purpose appointed, to train,

instruct, exercise, and govern a militia for the special defence and safety of the said colony; to assemble in martial array, and put in warlike posture, the inhabitants of the said colony, and in time of actual war, invasion, or rebellion, to use and exercise the law martial, and also to erect forts and fortify any place or places within the said colony, and the same to furnish with all necessary ammunition, provision, and stores of war, for offence and defence, and from time to time to commit the custody and government of them to such person or persons as to them should seem meet; declaring that the governor or commander-in-chief of South Carolina should have the chief command of the militia of Georgia, and that they should observe his orders.

And granted that the said corporation should have power to import or export their goods, at or from any port or ports that should be appointed by his majesty within the said province for that purpose, without being obliged to touch at any other port in Carolina. And declared, that after the end of the said twenty-one years such form of government, and method of making laws, statutes, and ordinances for the government of the said province and its inhabitants, should be observed and established within the same, as his majesty, his heirs, and successors should ordain and appoint, and should be agreeable to law; and that after the end of the said twenty-one years, the governor, and all officers, civil and military, within the said province should be appointed by his majesty, his heirs and successors.

In pursuance of his majesty's charter, and in order to fulfil the good intents and purposes therein expressed, it was thought necessary for the trustees to send over such poor people and foreign Protestants as were willing to live in Georgia, not only to cultivate the lands, but at the same time to strengthen his majesty's colonies. For which purpose they considered each inhabitant both as a planter and a soldier; and they were therefore to be provided with arms for their defence, as well as tools for their cultivation and to be taught the exercise of both, and towns were to be laid out for their settlements, and lands allotted to each of them for their maintenance as near to those towns as conveniently could be, that they might never have occasion to be too far distant from their towns, which were to be regarded as their garrisons.

And as the military strength of the province was particularly

to be taken care of, it seemed necessary to establish such tenures of lands as might most effectually preserve the number of planters or soldiers equal to the number of lots of lands, and therefore each lot of land was to be considered as a military fief, and to contain so much in quantity as would support such planter and his family ; and fifty acres were judged sufficient and not too much for that purpose, and provision was made to prevent an accumulation of several lots into one hand lest the garrison should be lessened, and likewise to prevent a division of those lots into smaller parcels, lest that which was no more than sufficient for one planter, when entire, should if divided amongst several, be too scanty for their subsistence.

And in the infancy of the colony the lands were granted in tail male, preferable to any other tenure as the most likely to answer these purposes ; for if the grants were to be made in tail general, it was thought that the strength of each township would soon be diminished, inasmuch as every female heir in tail who was unmarried would have been entitled to one lot, and consequently have taken from the garrison the portion of one soldier, and by intermarriages several lots might have been united into one ; and if such tenant in tail general had had several daughters his lot must have been divided equally amongst them all as copartners.

Nor were these the only inconveniences which were thought likely to arise from estates in tail general. For women being equally incapable to act as soldiers or serve on juries, these duties and many others such as watchings and wardings, etc., would return so much oftener to each man in proportion as the number of the men in the township was lessened, and by that means become very burdensome to the remaining male lot holders, and in case of any attack from the Indians, French, or Spaniards, the township would be less able to make a defence.

And as it was not thought proper to grant estates in tail general, it appeared to be more inconvenient to grant them in fee simple, which estate would have been attended with all the objections before mentioned incident to estates in tail general, and to several other besides ; for the right of alienation being inseparable from an estate in fee the grantee might have sold, mortgaged, or aliened his lands to whomever he thought fit,

which was a power not to be intrusted with the people sent over, for the following reasons:

1. From considering their condition.
2. From considering the purposes they were sent for.
3. From considering the persons to whom lands might be alienated. And,
4. From considering that it might occasion a monopoly of land contrary to the intent of the charter.

As to the first, the persons sent over were poor indigent people who had for the most part so indiscreetly managed what they had been masters of here, that it did not seem safe to trust so absolute a property in their hands, at least in the infancy of the colony, and before they had by a careful and industrious behavior given some reason to believe they would prove better managers for the future.

As to the second, they were sent over to inhabit, cultivate, and secure, by a personal residence, the lands granted to them within the province, and they voluntarily engaged so to do; and in expectation that they would perform those engagements they were maintained at the expense of the public during their voyage, and their passage was paid for them and they were provided with tools, arms, seeds, and other necessities, and supported from the public store, many of them at least for four years together from their first landing; in which respect the public may be said to have purchased those people for a valuable consideration their personal residence and all the industry and labor they could bestow in the cultivation of this province, and to have given them even pay for the hazard they might run in the defence of it.

As to the third, it was thought unsafe to grant them such an estate as might be the means of introducing such sort of people as might defeat what the trustees had always at heart, viz.: The preservation of the Protestant religion in that province, which was necessary to be taken care of, both on a political and religious account, the French lying to the west and the Spaniards to the south of the province of Georgia.

As to the fourth, a monopoly of several lots into one hand would necessarily have been the consequence of a free liberty of buying and selling lands within the province, which would have been directly contrary to the intent of the charter,

whereby the grant of lands to any one person is limited not to exceed five hundred acres.

A further inconvenience seemed likely to arise in every case where the tenant in fee died without any children, or without having disposed of his lot by will; for the heir general who might have the right to it might not happen to be found out for many years after, especially if it was one of the foreign Protestants, and all that time the house would have run to decay and the land remain uncultivated and become a harbor for vermin, to the great annoyance and damage of the neighboring lots.

But though the before-mentioned restraints were intended for the good of the whole, yet whenever particular cases required it they were taken off and dispensed with. And upon any application for leave to alienate lands, licenses were always granted for that purpose; and when the succession of females became less dangerous to the province by the growing strength and increase of the people, and by the security provided for it by his majesty's forces there, the trustees resolved to enlarge the tenures of the lands to estates in tail general.

The tenures being thus settled, it was thought necessary to require the inhabitants to cultivate their lands within a limited time, and in order to raise raw silk, which was intended to be one of the products there, a certain proportion of white mulberry trees were to be planted, and in their respective grants ten years were allowed for the cultivation, and one hundred white mulberry trees were to be planted on every ten acres of land when cleared, with a power for the trustees to reënter on the parts that should remain uncultivated.

But as the people were not able to cultivate their lands within the time required by their grants, by reason of the alarms from the Spaniards, the droughts in that part of America, and other unforeseen accidents, the trustees resolved to release all forfeitures on that account and to require the cultivation of no more than five acres of the said fifty acres within the remainder of the said term of ten years.

And as other persons applied to the trustees for grants of land in order to go over and settle there at their own expense, particular grants were made under the same tenure and on the following conditions; viz., That they should within twelve

months from the date of their grants, go to and arrive in Georgia with one man-servant for every fifty acres granted them, and should with such servants abide, settle, inhabit, and continue there for three years. That they should within ten years clear and cultivate one fifth part of the land granted them, and within the next ten years clear and cultivate three-fifth parts more of the said lands, and plant one thousand white mulberry trees upon every one hundred acres thereof when cleared. And that they should not at any time hire, keep, lodge, board, or employ any negroes within Georgia on any account whatsoever without special leave, which conditions were readily approved of and counterparts executed by them all; and to those who desired to name their successor on failure of issue male, special covenants were entered into by the trustees for that purpose, agreeable to their own propositions; and for an encouragement for their men servants to behave well, like covenants were entered into, to grant to every such man servant when requested thereunto by any writing under the hand and seal of the master, twenty acres of land under the same tenure.

The trustees were induced to prohibit the use of negroes within Georgia, the intention of his majesty's charter being to provide for poor people incapable of subsisting themselves at home and to settle a frontier to South Carolina, which was much exposed by the small number of its white inhabitants. It was impossible that the poor who should be sent from hence and the foreign persecuted Protestants, who must go in a manner naked into the colony, could be able to purchase or subsist them if they had them, and it would be a charge too great for the trustees to undertake, and they would be thereby disabled from sending white people. The first cost of a negro is about thirty pounds, and this thirty pounds would pay the passage over, provide tools and other necessities and defray the charge of subsistence of a white man for a year, in which time it might be hoped that the planter's own labor would grant him some subsistence, consequently the purchase money of every negro (abstracting the expense of subsisting him as well as his master) by being applied that way, would prevent the sending over a white man who would be a security to the province, whereas the negro would render that security precarious.

It was thought the white man, by having a negro slave, would be less disposed to labor himself, and that his whole time must be employed in keeping the negro to work, and in watching against any danger he or his family might apprehend from the slave, and that the planter's wife and children would by the death or even the absence of the planter, be at the mercy of the negro.

It was also apprehended that the Spaniards at St. Augustine would be continually enticing away the negroes, or encouraging them to insurrections. That the first might easily be accomplished since a single negro would run away thither without companions, and would only have a river or two to swim over, and this opinion has been confirmed and justified by the practices of the Spaniards even in times of profound peace amongst the negroes in South Carolina, where though at a greater distance from St. Augustine, some have fled in periaguas and little boats to the Spaniards and been protected, and others in large bodies have been incited to insurrections, to the great terror and even endangering the loss of that province, which though it has been established above seventy years, has scarce white people enough to secure her own slaves.

It was also considered that the products designed to be raised in the colony would not require such labor as to make negroes necessary for carrying them on, for the province of Carolina produces chiefly rice, which is a work of hardship proper for negroes, whereas the silk and other products which the trustees proposed to have the people employed on in Georgia, were such as women and children might be of as much use in as negroes.

It was likewise apprehended that if the persons who should go over to Georgia at their own expense should be permitted the use of negroes, it would dispirit and ruin the poor planters who could not get them, and who by their numbers were designed to be the strength of the province; it would make them clamorous to have negroes given them, and on the refusal would drive them from the province or at least make them negligent of their plantations, where they would be unwilling, nay would certainly disdain, to work like negroes, and would rather let themselves out to wealthy planters as overseers of their negroes.

It was further thought that upon the admission of negroes the wealthy planters would, as in all other colonies, be more induced to absent themselves and live in other places, leaving the care of their plantations and negroes to overseers.

It was likewise thought that the poor planter sent on charity from his desire to have negroes, as well as the planter who should settle at his own expense, would (if he had leave to alienate) mortgage his land to the negro merchant for them, or at least become a debtor for the purchase of such negroes; and under these weights and discouragements would be induced to sell his slaves again upon any necessity, and would leave the province and his lot to the negro merchant; in consequence of which all the small properties would be swallowed up as they have been in other places, by the more wealthy planters.

It was likewise considered that the admitting of negroes in Georgia would naturally facilitate the desertion of the Carolina negroes through the province of Georgia, and consequently this colony instead of proving a frontier and adding strength to the province of South Carolina, would be a means of drawing off the slaves of Carolina, and adding thereby a strength to Augustine.

From these several considerations, as the products to be raised in the colony did not make negro slaves necessary, as the introduction of them so near to a garrison of the Spaniards would weaken rather than strengthen the barrier, and as they would introduce with them a greater propensity to idleness among the poor planters, and too great an inequality among the people, it was thought proper to make the prohibition of them a fundamental of the constitution.

When the trustees had made these dispositions and were enabled by benefactions from several private persons, on the third of October, 1732, it was resolved to send over one hundred and fourteen persons, men, women, and children, being such as were in decayed circumstances and thereby disabled from following any business in England, and who, if in debt, had leave from their creditors to go, and such as were recommended by the minister, church wardens, and overseers of their respective parishes. And James Oglethorpe, Esq., one of the trustees, went with them at his own expense to settle them.

On the twenty-fourth of the same month the people were all examined whether any of them had any objections to the terms and conditions proposed to them, which they all declared they had not, but that they were fully satisfied with them and executed articles under their hands and seals testifying their consents thereto, which are now in the public office belonging to the trustees.

But four of them desiring that their daughters might inherit as well as sons, and that the widows' dower might be considered, the trustees immediately resolved that every person who should desire the same, should have the privilege of naming a successor to the lands granted to them, who in case the possessor should die without issue male, should hold the same to them and their heirs male for ever ; and that the widows should have thirds as in England, with which resolutions the people being all acquainted, were very well satisfied.

The trustees prepared forms of government agreeable to the powers given them by their charter ; they established under their seal a court of judicature for trying causes as well criminal as civil in the town of Savannah (the name which was given to the first town to be raised) by the name and style of the town court ; they also appointed magistrates there, viz. : three bailiffs and a recorder ; and inferior officers, viz. : two constables and two tithing men ; they chose for magistrates such as appeared to them the most prudent and discreet, but amongst a number of people who were all upon a level at their first setting out, it was impossible to make any choice or distinction which would not create some future uneasiness among them.

On the sixteenth of November, 1732, when the one hundred and fourteen persons, and with them the reverend Mr. Herbert, a clergyman of the church of England, and a man from Piedmont (engaged by the trustees to instruct the people in the art of winding silk) embarked on board the ship *Anne*, Captain Thomas, several of the trustees went to Gravesend, called over the people, and made a strict enquiry into their accommodations and provisions, and left the people very well satisfied. Soon after fifteen more persons were sent, eleven of whom were sawyers, in order to assist the people in building their houses.

At the time of the embarkation five thousand acres of land were granted to three of the colonists, in trust for them or the survivors of them, to make grants from time to time to every man of twenty-one years of age or upwards (who should arrive in Georgia and desire the same) fifty acres of land to hold to him and his heirs male.

The common council of the trustees (in whom by the charter the disposal of money was lodged), did resolve at their first meeting that the Bank of England should be desired to keep the money belonging to the trust which the bank accepted, and have continued so to do, paying no sums but by drafts signed by five of the common council.

The trustees desired by a letter Sir Thomas Lombe's sentiments of the goodness of the raw silk produced in Carolina, and the proper methods of carrying on that undertaking with success, on which they received * from Sir Thomas Lombe great encouragement to proceed in it by his approbation of the silk produced in that climate, of which he had made experiments.

On the twenty-eighth of February, 1732, the trustees received a letter from Mr. Oglethorpe, dated the thirteenth of January, 1732, on board the ship *Anne*, of Charlestown, in South Carolina, giving an account of his safe arrival there with the people, with the loss only of two children.

On the eighteenth of July, 1733, they received another letter from him which is here inserted at length, as it gives an account of the situation where he planted the people.

“ From the camp near Savannah, the tenth of February, 1732-3.

‘Gentlemen:

I GAVE you an account in my last of our arrival at Charles-town; the governor and assembly have given us all ‘possible encouragement. Our people arrived at Beaufort on ‘the twentieth of January, where I lodged them in some new ‘barracks built for the soldiers, whilst I went myself to view ‘the Savannah river. I fixed upon a healthy situation about ‘ten miles from the sea; the river here forms an half moon, ‘along the south side of which the banks are about forty feet

* Appendix No. 1.

‘high, and on the top a flat, which they call a bluff; the plain
 ‘high ground extends into the country about five or six miles,
 ‘and along the river side about a mile. Ships that draw
 ‘twelve feet of water can ride within ten yards of the bank.
 ‘Upon the river side in the center of this plain, I have laid out
 ‘the town, opposite to which is an island of very rich pastur-
 ‘age, which I think should be kept for the trustees’ cattle.
 ‘The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the quay
 ‘of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the
 ‘island of Tybee, which forms the mouth of the river, for
 ‘about six miles up into the country. The landscape is very
 ‘agreeable, the stream being wide and bordered with high
 ‘woods on both sides. The whole people arrived here on the
 ‘first of February; at night their tents were got up. Till the
 ‘tenth we were taken up in the unloading and making a crane,
 ‘which I then could not get finished, so took off the hands and
 ‘set some to the fortifications, and began to fell the woods. I
 ‘have marked out the town and common; half of the former is
 ‘already cleared, and the first house was begun yesterday in
 ‘the afternoon. A little Indian nation, the only one within
 ‘fifty miles, is not only in amity, but desirous to be subjects to
 ‘his majesty King George, to have lands given them amongst
 ‘us, and to breed their children at our schools; their chief and
 ‘his beloved man, who is the second man in the nation, desire
 ‘to be instructed in the Christian religion.

‘I am, gentlemen, etc.”

In this month of April the trustees, in another embarkation of seventeen persons, sent some Italians whom they had procured from Piedmont, in order to promote the silk business.

They received another letter from Mr. Oglethorpe, dated the twentieth of February, 1732, of which the following extract gives a further account of the people and their situation:

“Our people are all in perfect health. I chose the situation
 ‘for the town upon an high ground, forty feet perpendicular
 ‘above high water mark; the soil dry and sandy; the water
 ‘of the river fresh, springs coming out from the sides of
 ‘the hill. I pitched upon this place not only for the pleasant-
 ‘ness of the situation, but because from the above-mentioned
 ‘and other signs, I thought it healthy; for it is sheltered from

‘the western and southern winds (the worst in this country) by vast woods of pine trees, many of which are an hundred, and few under seventy feet high. There is no moss on the trees, though in most parts of Carolina they are covered with it, and it hangs down two or three feet from them. The last and fullest conviction of the healthfulness of the place was, that an Indian nation who knew the nature of this country chose it for their situation.’

The trustees endeavored very early to secure the friendship of the Indians, who, by ranging through the woods, would be capable of giving constant intelligence to prevent any surprise upon the people, and would be a good out-guard for the inland parts of the province. For this purpose they were treated with all possible candor and gentleness. They were acquainted that the English had no intention to hurt or distress them, but would be ready to assist and protect them on all occasions. They received several presents from the trustees, and were promised that if any of the people of Georgia injured them, they should, upon their complaints and proof of it, find a ready redress; for which, in return, the Indians engaged never to take any revenge themselves, as it might breed ill-blood between the English and them; and, as they have since found that justice has been always done to them upon proper complaints, they have been true to their engagements.

The Indians made a formal and voluntary cession of that part of the country to Mr. Oglethorpe for the king of Great Britain, by which a further right and title to it was acquired, and added to that of the first discovery and cultivation; and a treaty of friendship and commerce with them was settled, which was soon after sent over to the trustees for their ratification.

In the month of May, 1733, the trustees sent over six persons more.

The number of people sent on the charity from the beginning to the ninth of June, 1733 (on which day of the month the trustees' account is yearly made up, which is directed to be delivered to the lord chancellor and the other persons named in the charter), amounted to one hundred and fifty-two; of whom one hundred and forty-one were Britons, and eleven were foreign Protestants. The men numbered sixty-one.

The lands granted in trust this year, in order to be granted out in smaller portions in Georgia were the aforesaid five thousand acres.

The lands granted within this year to persons going at their own expense were four thousand four hundred and sixty acres.

The money received from private persons this year amounted to 3723*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.*, whereof the trustees applied 2254*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*, of which they exhibited an account to the lord chancellor and the lord chief justice of the common pleas, pursuant to their charter, and carried the remainder into their succeeding account.

FROM THE NINTH OF JUNE, 1733, TO THE
NINTH OF JUNE, 1734.

BESIDES the several works on which the people were employed at Savannah, as palisading the town, clearing the place from pine trees, etc., and building of houses, some other works were carried on; viz., a public garden was laid out, which was designed as a nursery, in order to supply the people for their several plantations with white mulberry trees, vines, oranges, olives, and other necessary plants. A gardiner was appointed for the care of it, and to be paid by the trustees. A crane was made for the landing of goods upon the bluff; a battery raised which commands the river some distance below the town; and on the island of Tybee, at the entrance of the river, a beacon was erected ninety feet high, which has been of great service, not only to ships entering the river Savannah, but to those likewise which sail by the coast, there being none like it all along the coast of America.

A fort was likewise built at the narrow passages of an inland river (called Ogeechee) in order to protect the settlement from any inland invasion from Augustine. Two little villages were laid out and settled at about four miles distant from Savannah, inland from the river, and a mile from each other, which were called Hampstead and Highgate.

In the *Carolina Gazette** dated the twenty-second of March, 1732, a further account was given of the settlement at

* Appendix No. 2.

Savannah, which was written by a gentleman of Charlestown, who, with some others, went thither out of curiosity.

The Parliament having granted, out of money arisen from the sale of the lands at St. Christopher, ten thousand pounds for the further settling and securing the colony, the trustees resolved to lose no time in strengthening it with people, and accordingly, in the months of September and October, 1733, they sent over two embarkations of persons, whose numbers are entered at the end of this year's proceedings, and of whom many were persecuted Protestants from Saltzburgh.

As very pleasing accounts of the country and settlement were sent from several of the people there to their friends, the trustees were informed that some persons had gone about in several parts of England offering money and land in their names (but without their knowledge or authority) to any who should be desirous of going to Georgia; therefore, they published an advertisement in some of the newspapers in order to prevent the ill-consequences of drawing laborious people out of the country with such expectations, and they declared that they had never given any such power to any persons whatsoever, and that they never used any solicitations to induce people to go over.

The persons sent on the charity this year numbered three hundred and forty-one; two hundred and thirty-seven were British, and one hundred and four were foreign Protestants. The men numbered one hundred and thirty-five.

Those in the former year numbered one hundred and fifty-two; one hundred and forty-one were British, and eleven were foreign Protestants. The men numbered sixty-one.

The persons sent in the two years, to the ninth June, 1734, numbered four hundred and ninety-three; three hundred and seventy-eight were British, and one hundred and fifteen were foreign Protestants. The men numbered one hundred and ninety-six.

The lands granted in trust this year, in order to be granted out in smaller portions in Georgia were eight thousand one hundred acres.

The lands granted this year to persons going at their own expense were five thousand seven hundred and twenty-five acres.

The money received this year pursuant to act of Parliament was £10,000, and from private persons 1502*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.*, whereof the trustees applied 6863*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*, of which they exhibited an account to the lord chancellor and master of the rolls, pursuant to their charter, and carried the remainder into their succeeding account.

FROM THE NINTH OF JUNE, 1734, TO THE
NINTH OF JUNE, 1735.

IN the month of June, 1734, Mr. Oglethorpe arrived from the colony, and with him came some of the principal Indians of the Lower Creek nation who live nearest to Savannah.

When these Indians were in England, they desired of the trustees that the measures, prices, and qualities of all goods to be purchased by them with their deer skins might be settled, as likewise the weights; that nobody might be allowed to trade with the Indians in Georgia without a license from the trustees, in order that if they were in any respect injured or defrauded by the traders, they might know where to complain; and they further desired there might be but one storehouse in each Indian town for supplying them with the goods they might want to purchase, from whence the trader should be obliged to supply them at the first prices.

The reason which the Indians gave for this application was because the traders with them had often, in an arbitrary manner, raised the prices of goods, and defrauded them in the weights and measures, and by their impositions had often created animosities between the English and Indians, which had frequently ended in wars between them, prejudicial to both.

The trustees having considered of their request, and being informed that the council and assembly of Carolina had passed an act the twentieth of August, 1731, entitled, "An act for the 'better regulation of the Indian trade, and for appointing a 'commissioner for that purpose," with regulations which the trustees hoped might be effectual in Georgia; prepared an act entitled, "An act for maintaining the peace with the Indians 'in the province of Georgia," with the same regulations and provisions as were in the Carolina act; which act ceased to be

in force in Georgia since it was erected into a distinct independent province, not subject to the laws of Carolina.

The trustees receiving frequent information from the colony of the pernicious effects of drinking rum and other spirituous liquors, by not only creating disorders amongst the Indians (who had been plentifully supplied with it by the traders), but also destroying many of the English, and throwing the people into various distempers, prepared an act entitled, "An act to 'prevent the importation and use of rum and brandies in the 'province of Georgia, or any kind of spirits or strong waters 'whatsoever." At the same time they endeavored to supply the stores with strong beer from England, molasses for brewing beer, and with Madeira wines, which the people might purchase at reasonable rates, and which would be more refreshing and wholesome for them. The magistrates of the town of Savannah were likewise impowered to grant licenses to private persons for retailing beer, ale; etc. And the trustees have great reason to believe that the remarkable healthiness of Ebenezer in the northern part and Frederica in the southern part of Georgia, is very much owing to the prohibition of the use of rum; for in those parts where rum, in defiance of the act, has been introduced, the people have not in general been so healthy and vigorous.

At the same time the trustees, taking into consideration the many inconveniences which would attend the introduction of negroes in a frontier, for the several reasons before specified, prepared an act "For rendering the colony of Georgia more 'defensible by prohibiting the importation and use of black 'slaves, or negroes, into the same."

These three acts were laid before the king in council in the month of January, 1734, and after a report from the lords commissioners for trade and plantations to the committee of council that they were proper to receive his majesty's royal approbation, they were ratified by his majesty in council.

Though the lands granted by the trustees were to revert to them on failure of issue male, in order to be regranted for keeping up a number of men; yet the trustees as guardians of the people when any such failure happened, resolved that the value of the improvements upon the lands of the late occupiers, should be valued and paid to or for the benefit of the female

issue or near relation, and the first issue of such a failure being on the death of Mr. De Farren, the value of the improvements he had made upon his estate was on the fifth of February, 1734, ordered and paid for the use of his daughter in England, who being destitute would have been absolutely unable to proceed in the cultivation of her father's lot.

Two embarkations were made this year, whose numbers are hereafter mentioned, which consisted chiefly of Saltzburghers, who with the Saltzburghers that went before, were settled in a town called by them Ebenezer upon the river Savannah, at some distance above the town, and by the sobriety and industry of the people they prove a very thriving settlement.

The persons sent on the charity this year numbered eighty-one; twenty-three were British, and fifty-eight were foreign Protestants. The men numbered forty-three.

Those in the former years numbered four hundred and ninety-three; three hundred and seventy-eight were British, and one hundred and fifteen were foreign Protestants. The men numbered one hundred and ninety-six.

The persons sent in the three years to the ninth of June, 1735, numbered five hundred and seventy-four; four hundred and one were British, and one hundred and seventy-three were foreign Protestants. The men numbered two hundred and thirty-nine.

The lands granted in trust this year in order to be granted out in smaller portions in Georgia were two thousand five hundred acres.

The lands granted this year to persons going at their own expense were one thousand nine hundred acres.

The money received this year in benefactions amounted to 541*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*, whereof given in South Carolina 464*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*, the amount in sterling money and in England 495*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.* which the trustees applied, as also part of their former balance to the amount of 11,194*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*, of which they exhibited an account to the lord chancellor and master of the rolls pursuant to their charter, and carried the then remainder into their succeeding account.

FROM THE NINTH OF JUNE 1735, TO THE
NINTH OF JUNE, 1736.

THAT all persons who should be desirous of going to Georgia might be appraised in time of the several conditions they were to perform, §rules were drawn up and printed for those who should be sent on the charity, as well as those who should go on their own expense, in which the conditions were specified as well as the necessaries for their subsistence and labor.

The Parliament having in the year 1735 granted twenty-six thousand pounds for the further settling and securing the colony of Georgia, the trustees thought it prudent to strengthen the southern part of the province by making a settlement on the Alatomaha river, to which they were strongly induced by a *memorial sent to his majesty from the governor and council of South Carolina, dated the ninth of April, 1734, wherein, after thanking his majesty for his peculiar favor and protection, and especially for his most benign care so wisely calculated for the preservation of South Carolina, by his royal charter to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, and after representing the practices of the French to seduce the Indians in amity with South Carolina, the attention of the French to the improvement of their settlements, and their late enlargement of them nearer to Carolina, the defenceless condition of their province, and the danger of the inhabitants from their own negroes, and the ruinous situation of the West India trade in case the French should possess themselves of Carolina; they add that the harbors and ports of Carolina and † Georgia enable his majesty to be absolute master of the passage through the gulf of Florida, and to impede at his pleasure the transportation home of the Spanish treasure, which, should his majesty's enemies possess, would then prove so many convenient harbors for them to annoy a great part of the British

§Appendix Nos. 3 and 4.

*Appendix No 5.

†The harbor in the southern part of Georgia the nearest to the gulf of Florida which has yet been sounded, has been proved by affidavits of three captains of ships who have been there, viz.: Captain Thomas Shubrick, Captain George Dymond, and Captain William Thomson, to be capable of receiving ships of forty guns, and to be safely landed locked. And by the ‡affidavit of Thomas Pearce, mariner, who was on the coast of Georgia near four years, it appears, that ships in this harbor may in twenty-four hours from the bar, run out into the gulf stream of Florida, through which stream the Spanish galleons (when not passing the windward passage) always come.

‡Appendix No. 6.

trade to America, as well as that which is carried on through the gulf from Jamaica.

Upon which inducements the trustees resolved to make embarkations for strengthening the southern part of Georgia, and to obviate any objections which might be made by sending over any of our useful poor from England ; and as the trustees found that many of the poor who had been useless in England were inclined to be useless likewise in Georgia, they determined that these embarkations should consist chiefly of persons from the highlands of Scotland, and persecuted German Protestants.

While these embarkations were preparing, the trustees made preparations for the new settlements. They established the civil government for the new town (which was called Frederica) in the same manner as they had before at Savannah.

In the month of January, 1735, the Highlanders arrived in Georgia, and with them several of the same country as servants to private grantees ; they were settled on the Alatahama river, about sixteen miles distant by water from the island of St. Simons, which is at the mouth of the river. They soon raised convenient huts until their houses could be built, and the town at their own desire was called Darien, which name still remains to the district, but the town is since named by them New Inverness.

On the sixth of February, 1735, the embarkation under the conduct of Mr. Oglethorpe arrived in Georgia ; they were settled upon St. Simon's island, the town called Frederica was soon laid out, and the people were set to work in building their houses. The Creek Indians who went thither upon occasion of this new settlement, agreed that the English should possess St. Simon's island, with the others contiguous to it. The land of the island is very fertile ; chiefly oak and hickory, intermixed with Savannahs and old Indian fields ; and, according to a survey made of it, it is about forty-five miles in circumference.

For a communication between the settlements in the northern and southern parts of the province, by land, a road was soon afterwards opened.

The persons sent on the charity this year numbered four hundred and seventy ; three hundred and forty-one were

British, and one hundred and twenty-nine were foreign Protestants. The men numbered two hundred and twenty-four.

Those in former years numbered five hundred and seventy-four; four hundred and one were British, and one hundred and seventy-three were foreign Protestants. The men numbered two hundred and thirty-nine.

The persons sent in the four years to the ninth of June, 1736, numbered one thousand and forty-four; seven hundred and forty-two were British, and three hundred and two were foreign Protestants. The men numbered four hundred and sixty-three.

The lands granted in trust this year, in order to be granted out in smaller portions, were twenty thousand acres; and in trust for religious uses, to be cultivated with the money arising from private benefactions given for that purpose, in order to settle a provision upon a clergyman at Savannah, a catechist, and a schoolmaster, three hundred acres.

The lands granted this year to persons going on their own expense were nine thousand three hundred acres.

The money received this year, pursuant to act of Parliament, was £26,000; and in benefactions, 2164*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* 3*q.*, whereof in South Carolina 411*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* 3*q.*, the amount in sterling money, and in England 1753*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.*; whereof the trustees applied 22,697*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* 3*q.*, of which they exhibited an account to the lord chancellor and master of the rolls, pursuant to their charter, and carried the remainder into their succeeding account.

FROM THE NINTH OF JUNE, 1736, TO THE
NINTH OF JUNE, 1737.

FOR the security of the people who were settled the last year on St. Simon's island and the southern part of the province, several forts were built this year; viz.,

One at Frederica, with four regular bastions and a spur work towards the river, and several pieces of cannon were mounted on it.

About ten miles from Frederica a large battery is built commanding the entrance into the sound, where ten or twelve forty-gun ships may safely ride; there being sufficient water

on the bar called Jekyll for such ships to go over, which lies in $30^{\circ} 40'$, and behind Jekyll island there is water and room enough for shipping for ten miles up. The battery is enclosed within a strong wall, and has a guard-house within the wall capable of holding twenty-four men.

Another fort was built on the southwest part of the island of St. Peters (now called Cumberland), which lies in $30^{\circ} 30'$, under which fort, on which are mounted several pieces of ordinance pointing toward the river, all sloops and boats in the inland passage to this island must come. Within the palisade round the fort there are fine springs of water, and there is a well-framed timber log house, thirty feet by eighteen, with a magazine under it both for ammunition and provisions. A scout-boat is stationed at this island.

As these precautions were taken for the southern part of the province, directions were given for a fort to be built for the security of the northern part, by way of an out-guard against any invasion by land. This was at a place called Augusta, which has proved a very thriving town, it being now the chief place of trade with the Indians, and where the traders of both provinces of South Carolina and Georgia resort, from the security they find there. Augusta is about two hundred and thirty miles by water from the town of Savannah, and large boats, which carry about nine thousand pounds weight of deer skins, can navigate down the river Savannah. The town, which stands upon a high ground near the river, is well-inhabited, and has several warehouses in it furnished with goods for the Indian trade. A road has been likewise made, so that horsemen can now ride from this town to Savannah, as likewise to the Cherokee Indians, who are situated above the town of Augusta, and trade with it. A garrison has been kept at this fort at the trustees' expense, until the arrival of the regiment his majesty since ordered for the defence of the colony.

Whilst these dispositions were making for the security of the province, the Parliament gave ten thousand pounds this year for the further settling and securing the colony; but as the expenses of the forts and the supplies which were sent for the support of the colony were very great, and as many people in the northern part of the province were as yet unable to

subsist themselves, and out of compassion to them and their families a store was still kept open for their subsistence, the trustees sent over but few persons this year.

In the beginning of the year 1737 the Spaniards at Augustine made preparations for attacking the colony of Georgia; they laid in quantities of corn and provisions, bought up a great number of firearms, and large bodies of regular troops were sent thither from the Havannah.

The lieutenant-governor of South Carolina informed the magistrates of Savannah of these preparations; this advice and the frequent alarms which were otherwise given, drew the people off from their labor in the sowing season, and their improvements in their plantations were neglected, and they were obliged to make preparations for their defence.

At the same time the highlanders at New Inverness who were exposed to danger, built a fort there and twelve pieces of cannon were mounted on it.

Though the people at Savannah were not so immediately exposed to danger, they began to build a large fort at their town of palisade work with bastions; but as the trustees perceived this took off the people from their cultivation, that the work would be very chargeable and they had not money to support the expense, they found themselves under a necessity to put a stop thereto.

The persons sent on the charity this year numbered thirty-two; thirty-two were British. The men numbered nineteen.

Those sent in former years numbered one thousand and forty-four; seven hundred and forty-two were British, and three hundred and two were foreign Protestants. The men numbered four hundred and sixty-three.

The number sent in five years to the ninth of June, 1737, numbered one thousand and seventy-six; seven hundred and seventy-four were British, and three hundred and two were foreign Protestants. The men numbered four hundred and eighty-two.

The lands granted in trust this year in order to be granted out in smaller portions in Georgia were three thousand acres, and in trust to be cultivated, with the money arising from private benefactions given for that purpose, in order to raise a

maintenance for a minister and schoolmaster at Frederica, and other religious uses, three hundred acres.

The lands granted this year to persons going on their own expense were four thousand three hundred acres.

The money received this year pursuant to act of Parliament, was £10,000, and in benefactions 3627*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*, whereof in South Carolina the amount in sterling money, 333*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, and in England 3293*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.*, which the trustees applied, as also part of their former balance to the sum of 17,239*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.*, of which they exhibited an account to the lord chancellor and master of the rolls, pursuant to their charter, and carried the then remainder to their succeeding account.

FROM THE NINTH OF JUNE, 1737, TO THE
NINTH OF JUNE, 1738.

THE lieutenant-governor of South Carolina having acquainted the trustees by a letter dated from the council chamber the seventh of February, 1736-7, that he had received advice from Commodore Dent of preparations made by the Spaniards at Augustine and the Havannah, in order to make an attack on the colony of Georgia, and the trustees having in a * memorial to his majesty set forth the inability of the colony to protect themselves against such a force as was preparing at the Havannah and Augustine, his majesty was graciously pleased to order a regiment of six hundred effective men to be raised and sent to Georgia for the defence and protection of it.

And as an encouragement to the soldiers' good behavior, the trustees resolved to give each of them a property in the colony; they therefore made a grant of land in trust for an allotment of five acres of land to each soldier of the regiment to cultivate for his own use and benefit, and to hold the same during his continuance in his majesty's service; and for a further encouragement they resolved that each soldier, who at the end of seven years from the time of his enlisting in the regiment, should be desirous of quitting his majesty's service, and should have his regular discharge and would settle in the colony, should on his commanding officer's certificate of his

*Appendix No. 7.

good behavior, be entitled to a grant of twenty acres of land.

The Parliament having taken into consideration the great expenses which the trustees had been at in making roads through the province and the several fortifications in it, and the presents made to the Indians to engage them firmer in the British interest, and likewise the preparations which were making by the Spaniards in order to take or destroy the colony, and having granted this year a sum of twenty thousand pounds for the further settling and securing the colony, the trustees made another embarkation which consisted chiefly of persecuted German Protestants.

The persons sent on the charity this year numbered two hundred and ninety-eight; one hundred and thirty-five were British, and one hundred and sixty-three were foreign Protestants. The men numbered one hundred and fifty-two.

Those in former years numbered one thousand and seventy-six; seven hundred and seventy-four were British, and three hundred and two were foreign Protestants. The men numbered four hundred and eighty-two.

The persons sent in six years to the ninth of June, 1738, numbered one thousand three hundred and seventy-four; nine hundred and nine were British, and four hundred and sixty-five were foreign Protestants. The men numbered six hundred and thirty-four.

By accounts received from the colony before the end of this year, there appear to have been one thousand one hundred and ten persons in Georgia, besides those at Tybee, Skidoway Fort Argyll, Thunderbolt, and Augusta, in the northern part, and those at St. Andrews and Amelia in the southern part.

The lands granted in trust this year in order to be granted out in smaller portions in Georgia were three thousand acres.

The lands granted this year to persons going on their own expense were one thousand acres.

The money received this year pursuant to act of Parliament was £20,000 and in benefactions 909*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.* 2*q.*, whereof the trustees applied 18,870*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* 2*q.*, of which they exhibited an account to the lord chancellor and master of the rolls, pursuant to their charter, and carried the remainder into their succeeding account.

FROM THE NINTH OF JUNE, 1738, TO THE
NINTH OF JUNE, 1739.

AS several merchants and captains of ships had for their own interest carried into the colony from New York and other places, large cargoes of provisions, etc., great part of which (to save the merchants from losses) was taken in at the store without a proper authority from the trustees and an expense created thereby which the trustees could not estimate nor have ability to discharge, and for which certified accounts were returned to them, the trustees published an advertisement in the London *Gazette*, and ordered it to be published in South Carolina *Gazette*, and to be affixed upon the doors of the storehouses at Savannah and Frederica, that out of a due regard to public credit they had resolved that all expenses which they had ordered or should order to be made in America for the use of the colony, should be defrayed and paid for in Georgia in Sola bills of exchange only, under their seal; and they gave notice that no person whatsoever had any authority from them, or in their name, or for their account, to purchase or receive any cargoes of provisions, stores, or necessaries, without paying for them in the said Sola bills.

Upon the petition of one Abraham De Lyon, a freeholder of Savannah in Georgia, that he had expended a great sum in the cultivation of vines, which he had carried from Portugal and had brought to great perfection, and several certificates being produced of his improvements in cultivating them, and of the goodness of the grapes, and of their thriving in the most barren lands of the province, the trustees assisted him to proceed in his improvements.

The security of the colony being provided for by the regiment sent over by his majesty, the Parliament gave eight thousand pounds for the further settling the colony. Therefore the trustees sent over an estimate of all the expenses they allowed to be made in the province, by which several military expenses which they had been engaged in for the defence of the colony, and which were very great, were reduced.

The trustees this year sent over the Rev. Mr. Norris to reside at Frederica, with a salary of fifty pounds a year, ordered a house to be built for him, and another for the inhabi-

tants to perform divine service in until a church could be built there.

The assembly of South Carolina having in the last year passed an ordinance for raising a sum to indemnify their traders in opposition to the act which was approved of by his majesty in council for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the province of Georgia, upon a memorial from the trustees complaining of the said ordinance, and upon a petition of the council and assembly of South Carolina against the said act, there was a solemn hearing before the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, and afterwards before a committee of the lords of his majesty's privy council; whereupon his majesty was pleased to order that the said ordinance of the assembly of South Carolina should be repealed and declared void, and was pleased to send an instruction to the trustees to prepare a proper act or ordinance for settling the trade carried on by the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia with the Indians, on such a footing as might be for the mutual benefit and satisfaction of both provinces; and his majesty at the same time was graciously pleased to give an instruction to Samuel Horsey, Esq., governor and lieutenant-general of South Carolina, to recommend to the council and assembly there to pass a law for the like purpose in that province. But Samuel Horsey, Esq., dying soon after and no other governor having since gone to South Carolina, that affair remains unsettled.

The trustees immediately sent to Col. Oglethorpe a copy of his majesty's instructions, and desired that he would consult with Lieutenant-governor Bull in South Carolina, that plans of proper acts might be prepared and sent over to the trustees for their consideration, in order to answer the purposes of his majesty's instructions, and that in the mean time the commissioners of South Carolina and the commissioners of Georgia might proceed in their respective provinces in concert with each other to carry on a mutual trade to the Indians in both provinces.

Mr. Stephens, secretary in Georgia, having informed the trustees that the grand jury at Savannah claimed a right of administering oaths and making enquiry thereon into all such matters as they should think fit, and the trustees having

perceived that in a representation of the said grand jury they had pretended to such right, sent a letter to Mr. Stephens to acquaint him that the trustees were sensible great mischiefs might be done by ill-designing men who might procure themselves to be put upon the panel, if this claim of the grand jury was allowed of, and therefore the trustees ordered him to acquaint the people that the grand jury had no such right, and that their claim was entirely illegal.

As the trustees both by their letters and instructions to the magistrates had constantly exhorted and encouraged the people to a cultivation of their lands on which they were to depend for their support, and as they found that many (as well of those whom they had sent over as objects of charity, as of others who at different times had gone into the colony from other plantations for a temporary maintenance) still continued in their idleness and were a burden upon the trust, they gave orders for striking off the store all such as having had time to cultivate their lands had neglected it. This carried from the colony many of those who had gone thither or joined it from any parts of America to gain a subsistence for a year or two, and of others who had not considered the hardships of attending the first settlement of a country, and were tired of their labor.

The trustees receiving an account dated the twelfth of February, 1738, from their secretary in the province of an uneasiness amongst several persons upon the tenures of their lots being confined to the heirs male, and they considering that the colony had been for some time established, and the people grown more numerous and a regiment being stationed in it for its defence, whereby the former tenures became less necessary, did on the fifteenth of March following, at their anniversary meeting, resolve that in default of issue male, any legal possessor of land might by a deed in writing or by his last will and testament, appoint his daughter as his successor, or any other male or female relation, with a proviso that the successor should in the proper court in Georgia, personally claim the lot granted or devised within eighteen months after the death of the grantor or devisor.

This was soon after extended to every legal possessor's being empowered to appoint any other person to be his successor.

But while the trustees were taking these steps for the satisfaction of the people, and while those in the southern part of the province (though exposed to greater danger), were industrious and easy in their settlements, many of those in the northern part, who had neglected the cultivation of their lands, drew up a * representation, dated the ninth of December, 1738, setting forth the want of a fee simple to their lands, and negroes to cultivate them, but they were far from being seconded or supported by the people in the southern parts of the province in this representation, who not only refused to sign it, but † petitioned the trustees against the use of negroes, setting forth the danger they should be in from the Spaniards, who had proclaimed freedom to all slaves who should resort to them, and that by this means they should be exposed to an enemy without, and a more dangerous one in their bosoms.

The industrious Saltzburghers, also at Ebenezer (who are in the northern part of the province not far from Savannah), ‡ petitioned against negroes, and set forth their satisfaction and happiness in their settlement; that they had raised in the last season more rice, peas, potatoes, pumpkins, cabbage, corn, etc., than was necessary for their consumption, and that they did not find the climate so warm but that it was very tolerable for working people.

The persons sent on the charity this year numbered nine; two were British, and seven were foreign Protestants. The men numbered four.

Those in the former years numbered one thousand three hundred and seventy-four; nine hundred and nine were British, and four hundred and sixty-five were foreign Protestants. The men numbered six hundred and thirty-four.

The persons sent in the seven years to the ninth of June, 1739, numbered one thousand three hundred and eighty-three; nine hundred and eleven were British, and four hundred and seventy-two were foreign Protestants. The men numbered six hundred and thirty-eight.

The only return from Georgia this year was an account of the people at Savannah, who were one hundred and nine free-

* Appendix No. 8.

† Appendix No. 9.

‡ Appendix No. 10.

holders, besides their wives and children, and besides inmates and servants, of the latter of which there were a great number, part of whose passages were paid for in the next year on representations made to the trustees for that purpose.

The lands granted in trust this year, to be cultivated for the maintenance of an orphan house in Georgia, were five hundred acres.

The money received this year, pursuant to act of Parliament, was £8000, and in benefactions 473*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*, which the trustees applied, as also part of their former balance to the amount of 10,347*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.*, of which they exhibited an account to the lord chancellor and master of the rolls, pursuant to their charter, and carried the then remainder into their succeeding account.

FROM THE NINTH OF JUNE, 1739, TO THE
NINTH OF JUNE, 1740.

AT the time that some of the people at Savannah were so clamorous for negroes (for seventy-five land and freeholders, of whom fifty-two were freeholders, did not apply for them), the province of South Carolina was under frequent alarms on account of their negroes there. They had intelligence that a conspiracy was formed by the negroes in Carolina to rise and forcibly make their way out of the province, to put themselves under the protection of the Spaniards, who had proclaimed freedom to all who should run away to them from their owners. That this conspiracy was discovered at Winyar, the most northern part of that province, from whence, as the negroes must bend their course, it argued that the other parts of the province must be privy to it, and that the rising was to be universal; whereupon, the whole province was upon their guard; the number of negroes in South Carolina being computed to be about forty thousand, and the number of white men at most not above five thousand.

As several negroes who were employed in periaguas and other light craft (which they carried off with them), had taken the benefit of the Spaniards' proclamation and gone to Augustine, the government of South Carolina sent a solemn deputation to demand their slaves. This deputation consisted

of Mr. Brathwaite, a member of the council; Mr. Rutledge, one of the assembly, and Mr. Amian, clerk of the assembly. But the governor of Augustine, though in time of profound peace, peremptorily refused to deliver them up, and declared he had orders to receive all such as should come there and protect them.

Upon this, and the petition which was sent from the Highlanders at Darien, and the Saltzburghers at Ebenezer, representing the danger and inconvenience of the introduction of negroes, the trustees sent under their seal *answer to the representation of some of the inhabitants of Savannah.

Among the persons to whom grants of land were made in order to their settling at their own expense in the colony, some never went over; others were gentlemen of Carolina who neglected to take up their lands, or even desire to have them laid out; and others who quitted their plantations and went to reside at Savannah as shop-keepers. One man in particular, an apothecary surgeon, from the beginning neglected his grant, and followed his practice in the town; another quitted his plantation and betook himself to selling of rum. To these two almost all the town of Savannah were indebted for physic or rum; and they first raised the clamor that lands might be alienable, and negroes admitted, which would have made them possessors of the chief part of the lots.

To these some others, who had gone at their own expense and had employed their covenanted servants on their plantations, joined themselves, taking their servants from their labor and letting them out to hire in the town for the sake of an immediate profit, on which they lived in an idle and riotous manner; and even at the time when their servants were taken off from their proper labor in their plantations, they fomented the clamor for negroes in order to carry them on.

The spirit of idleness which was very early introduced in the town, many of the people were too ready to follow. Constant clubs have been held, and horse races kept up by them to amuse and divert the people from their labor; and delinquents (who have insulted the laws, even in the courts of justice, and declared they would do their utmost to destroy the colony), have, when committed to prison, been abetted and

* Appendix No. 11.

supported by them. By these the before-mentioned representation was formed, and many of the people, by their own inclination to idleness, by the power the others had over them as creditors, and by hopes being given them that if they stuck together the trustees must grant them negroes or see the colony abandoned, were thus drawn in to sign the same, in which they in a manner demanded the permission of negroes and an alteration of their tenures.

The trustees, to make all the people as easy and contented as they could, published an advertisement in the *London Gazette*, the eighth of September, 1739, and other papers, which was continued for several days, and ordered it to be published in the *South Carolina Gazette*, that they had resolved to enlarge their grants on failure of issue male, and to make a provision for the widows of the grantees in the following manner; viz., That the lands already granted should, on failure of issue male, descend to the daughters of such grantees, and in case there should be no issue, male or female, that the grantee might devise such lands, and for want of such devise that such lands should descend to their heirs-at-law; with a proviso that the possession of the person who should enjoy such devise should not be increased to more than five hundred acres, and that the widows of the grantees should hold and enjoy the dwelling house, garden, and one moiety of the lands their husbands should die seized of, for and during the term of their lives.

The trustees directed in the advertisement that those who intended to have the benefit given them should enter their respective claims, in order that proper grants and conveyances in the law might be forthwith prepared and executed for that purpose, and that no fee or reward was to be taken for the entering of any such claim, directly or indirectly, by any person or persons whatsoever.

In the month of August, 1739, the trustees received advice from General Oglethorpe, that he had frequent intelligence of the Spaniards endeavoring to bribe the Indians, and particular the Creek nation, into a rupture with the English, which made it necessary for him to go to the general assembly of the Indian nations at the Cowetatown, about five hundred miles distant from Frederica, in order to prevent such designs and seditious

among them, and that he had been obliged to buy horses and presents to carry up to this meeting, where the Choctaws (who are upon the frontiers between the English and French settlements) and the Chickesaws were to send their deputies.

This journey of General Oglethorpe's has since appeared to be of great service to the public, for on the twenty-sixth of August, 1739, Mr. Stephens received an express from Colonel Bull, lieutenant-governor of South Carolina, that he had intelligence from Lieutenant-governor Clarke, of New York, concerning the French marching from Montreal, near Quebec, with a body of about two hundred regular troops and five hundred Indians, who were to be re-inforced by French and Indians in their journey; that this army was designed against the Indians in friendship with his Brittanic majesty's subjects of Carolina and Georgia who are situated near some branches of the Mississippi river. Colonel Bull added that he should immediately dispatch an express to the Creek nations with advice to General Oglethorpe of the contents of Lieutenant-governor Clarke's letter, and that it was necessary that both the provinces of Carolina and Georgia should be on their guard; though, if the Creek Indians should prove true, the danger would not be great. General Oglethorpe, by his treaties with the Indians in this journey, has confirmed them in the British interests, and made a new treaty with them whereby their former concession of lands to Great Britain was confirmed and extended.

A parcel of raw silk was brought this year from Georgia by one Mr. Samuel Augspourguer, who made an affidavit before a master in chancery that he received it from the hands of Mr. Thomas Jones, the trustees' storekeeper at Savannah, who told him it was the product of Georgia; and the said Samuel Augspourguer, who resided in the southern part of the province, said that when at Savannah he saw the Italian family there winding off silk from the coquos.

The silk was shown at the trustees' office to Mr. John Zachary, an eminent raw silk merchant, and Mr. Booth, one of the greatest silk weavers in England, who declared it was as fine as any Italian silk, and that it was worth at least twenty shillings a pound.

This Mr. Samuel Augspourguer, who joined the colony in

the year 1736, left it in July, 1739, with two men servants and their children on his plantation, and came over to obtain a grant of five hundred acres of land, and to get some of his own countrymen from the Canton of Bearn, in Switzerland, to go with him as servants on his return to Georgia, in order to proceed more effectually in the cultivation of his lands.

The persons whose passage was paid for on the charity numbered one hundred and thirty-eight; four were British, and one hundred and thirty-four were foreign Protestants. The men numbered forty-nine.

The persons sent on the charity in the former years numbered one thousand three hundred and eighty-three; nine hundred and eleven were British, and four hundred and seventy-two were foreign Protestants. The men numbered six hundred and thirty-eight.

The persons sent in the eight years to the ninth of June, 1740, numbered one thousand five hundred and twenty-one; nine hundred and fifteen were British, and six hundred and six were foreign Protestants. The men numbered six hundred and eighty-seven.

The lands granted this year to be cultivated at the expense of the Incorporated Society in Scotland for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in order to raise a maintenance for the Scots' minister at New Inverness, in Georgia, were three hundred acres.

The lands granted this year to be cultivated by a person at his own expense were five hundred acres.

The lands granted in trust in the said eight years, in order to be granted out in smaller portions in Georgia were forty-one thousand six hundred acres; to be cultivated for religious uses were nine hundred acres; and to be cultivated for the maintenance of an orphan house were five hundred acres.

The lands granted in the said eight years to persons who were to cultivate them at their own expense were twenty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty-five acres.

The money received this year pursuant to act of Parliament was £20,000, and in benefactions 18*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* 2*q.*, whereof in South Carolina the amount in sterling money 86*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* 2*q.*, and in England 94*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*, whereof the trustees applied 16,614*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* 2*q.*, of which they exhibited an account to the

lord chancellor and the lord chief justice of the court of King's bench, pursuant to their charter, and the remainder of all the money they ever received being 591*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.*, will be carried into their succeeding account.

FROM THE NINTH OF JUNE, 1740,
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE trustees this year took further methods for the satisfaction of the people in the province: they extended the tenures by which a daughter of a grantee or any other person was made capable of enjoying by devise or inheritance any quantity of lands which did not increase her or his possession to more than two thousand acres.

A license was likewise granted to all the present possessors of land in Georgia to make leases of any parts of their lots for any term not exceeding three years to any person residing in Georgia, and who should reside there during the term of such lease.

A general release was likewise passed by which no advantage was to be taken against any of the present possessors of land in Georgia for any forfeitures incurred at any time before Christmas, 1740, in relation either to the tenure or cultivation of lands, and the possessors of fifty acres of land were not obliged to cultivate more than five acres thereof in ten years from their grants, and those under fifty acres in proportion. And the possessors of five hundred acres of land were not obliged to cultivate more than one hundred and twenty acres thereof in twenty years from their grants, and those of under five hundred acres and above fifty acres in proportion in order to prevent any forfeitures for want of cultivating the quantities required.

Under these circumstances it is presumed that no complaint can now with reason be made against the tenure by which the inhabitants at this time hold their lands, since they have more power than is generally given by marriage settlements in which the grantees are only tenants for life, incapable of mortgaging or aliening or making any disposition by their last will, whereas the freeholders in Georgia are now become tenants in tail general, and may with the license of the

common council of the said trustees upon application made to them for that purpose, mortgage or alien, and further without that license have it absolutely in their power on failure of issue in tail to dispose thereof by their last will.

By an account received from the secretary in the province it appears that on the first of August, 1740, about seventy freeholders of the northern part of the province delivered in the town court of Savannah their claims of lots under the tenures which were advertised the last year in the *South Carolina and London Gazettes*.

That on the fifteenth of the same month as many or more appeared in the said town court for the said occasion, and that on the twenty-seventh of the same month divers more delivered in their claims likewise.

The trustees are informed by their secretary in the province, that in pursuance of their orders he had just finished an authentical account of the state of the colony with respect to the number of inhabitants in the several towns and villages, the number of houses and the settlements made, the progress which the several people had made in the cultivation of their lands, and their ability or inability to support themselves, and in case where the last appeared, the reason of it; the proportions of the different sorts of soil as near as could be computed, and an account of the several products which by experience or appearance could or might be raised for trade. And the trustees are daily in expectation of receiving from him the said account. But by the several accounts before received they are enabled to give, though an imperfect one, the following state of the settlements, viz. :

The town of Savannah is about ten miles up the river Savannah, where are (besides warehouses and huts) at least one hundred and thirty houses in the town; as these for the sake of air and to prevent the spreading of any fire, are built at some distance from each other, they make several spacious squares and wide streets. There is a regular magistracy settled in the town which the trustees are obliged to be at the expense of supporting until the colony arrives at sufficient strength to do it. There are in the town a court house, a storehouse, a goal, a house for the trust servants, a wharf, a guard house, and some other public buildings; a church is at

present building and a clergyman is settled there. The town is excellently situated for trade, the navigation of the river being very secure and ships of three hundred tons can lie within six yards of the town and the worm does not eat them.

About four miles from Savannah, inland from the river, are the two villages Highgate and Hampstead, which lie at about a mile distant from each other. The people settled there apply themselves chiefly to gardening, and supply the town of Savannah with quantities of greens and garden stuff.

By the account of Mr. Thomas Stephens, who at his father's request was sent over to assist him in his business of secretary in the province and continued with him there some short time, he states that there are twenty plantations within twenty miles round Savannah which have each of them from five to thirty acres of land cleared.

About fifteen miles from Savannah is a village called Abercorn; about twenty miles further up the river is the town of Ebenezer, where the Saltzburghers are settled with two ministers, one of whom computed that the number of his congregation in June, 1738, consisted of one hundred and forty-six. Therefore, as the infants could not be reckoned in the computation, and as seven more have since been sent and settled with them, it is believed the number has been increased; especially since the town is so healthy that by a letter sent to the society for propagating christian knowledge by the Rev. Mr. Bolzius one of the ministers at Ebenezer, dated the twenty-sixth of June, 1740, he declared that in a year's time one person only had died, which was a child four years old. The people are industrious and sober; they raise not only a sufficient quantity of corn and other products for their own subsistence, but they sell great quantities to those at Savannah who have not been so careful of their own plantations: they have great herds of cattle, and are in so thriving a condition that not one person has abandoned his settlement, or sent over the least complaint about the tenures or the want of negroes. On the contrary they in a body petitioned against the use of negroes, and their ministers have declared that their signing that petition was a voluntary act; and at their desire another embarkation of their countrymen, who are willing to go from Germany and join them, is designed to be sent with all convenient speed.

About ten miles from hence, and upon a river running into Savannah is a place called Old Ebenezer, where is a cow-pen and a great number of cattle for the use of the public and for breeding.

At a considerable distance from hence is the town of Augusta before described, which with the great resort of traders and Indians, is in a thriving condition, and is and will be a great protection to both the provinces of Carolina and Georgia against any designs of the French.

In the southern part of the province is the town of New Inverness upon the river Alatamaha where the Highlanders are settled.

And about twenty miles from hence on the island of St. Simons, near the sea, is the town of Frederica with a regular magistracy, as at Savannah, supported at the expense of the trust; strong fortifications round the town are almost finished, and at the southeast point of the island are barracks for three hundred and thirty men.

There are settlements on the islands of Jekyll and Cumberland, which lie at a small distance from each other to the southward of Frederica, and on the last two forts are built, one of which was described before, and the other was finished in April, 1740, upon the south end of the island. It commands the inlet of Amelia sound, is strongly palisaded with flankers, and is defended by eight pieces of cannon.

Barracks are built upon this island for two hundred and twenty men, with storehouses, which were finished in October, 1738.

There are six forts in the province, and a battery of cannon erected to secure the harbor of St. Simons, under which ships may safely lie.

The Indians, from the presents which they have annually received from the trustees, and from the justice and humanity with which they have been treated, are secured in the British interest, notwithstanding the arts both of the French and the Spaniards to seduce them. By this South Carolina has been free from those wars, in which (as the preamble of his majesty's charter sets forth), they had frequently suffered, and so late as in the year 1715, had been laid almost waste with fire and sword, and by the security which South Carolina received

by such a frontier as Georgia is to it, very large tracts of land have been cultivated in the southern part of that province, which no person would venture to settle on before, and a great quantity of rice raised thereon.

As the people in Georgia sent on the charity were supported to enable them to raise their own provisions in the first place on the lands they should clear, and to convert the timber they should cut down in clearing those lands into lumber, which they might to their great advantage transport to the sugar colonies, and further to raise silk, wine, and oil, for which the climate was very proper, it was hoped from thence they would gain a comfortable subsistence and be of service to their mother country in raising such products, which at present are purchased from foreigners with ready money.

Having thus stated the plan laid down for the trustees by his majesty's charter, the several steps taken by them for the execution of that plan, with their yearly progress therein, the several obstructions from unforeseen accidents which have checked that progress, with the present condition of the colony, according to the latest and most authentic accounts from thence, they submit the whole to the wisdom of this honorable house, being entirely disposed to follow any directions that shall flow from thence. And as they have no other view but the service of their country, by making this colony as useful to the interest of Great Britain, as by its situation and climate it is capable of being, they heartily with [*sic*] the trust in abler hands that those important services might not be defeated through their inability.

By order of the trustees,

BENJ. MARTYN,

Secretary.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

*To the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia ;
Gentlemen :*

I N writing this answer to a letter I had the honor to receive from you, dated the twenty-ninth instant, wherein you desire to know my sentiments of an undertaking to raise raw silk in your new settlement in Georgia ; of the probability of succeeding therein ; the proper steps to be taken to bring that work to perfection ; and my opinion of the nature, quality, and use of the raw silk produced in Carolina, it is a great pleasure to me, that from experiments which I made some years ago, I can now, besides my opinion, give you some information concerning that silk which may be depended upon.

The value and usefulness of the undertaking will appear as soon as we consider that all the silk consumed in this kingdom is now of foreign growth and manufacture, which costs the nation very great sums of money yearly to purchase, and that the raising of our supply thereof in his majesty's dominions in America would save us all that money, afford employment to many thousands of his majesty's subjects, and greatly increase the trade and navigation of Great Britain.

It appears to me as beneficial to the kingdom, attended with as little hazard or difficulty, as much wanted, and which may as soon be brought to perfection in a proper climate, as any undertaking so considerable in itself that I ever heard of. I therefore think that there is a very great probability of its succeeding if such proper methods are pursued, and such assistance afforded to the poor people at their first setting out as are necessary to settle, instruct, and encourage them.

The silk produced in Carolina has as much natural strength and beauty as the silk of Italy (which is commonly called fine silk), and by the several experiments I have tried with it, I am satisfied that it might be made to answer the same purposes that Italian silk now does, if it be reeled in short skeins, a fine,

clean, and even thread; to effect which, if some experienced persons are at first sent to teach the people, the work will soon be made easy to the meanest capacity, and the value of the silk will be thereby greatly increased.

As for my own part, if at any time you should think I can be of use to promote so good a work, I shall be ready to execute your commands as far as I am able; and always remain, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

THO. LOMBE.

Old Jaory, January 31, 1732.

NUMBER 2.

Extract of a Letter from South Carolina "Gazette," dated at Charlestown the twenty-second of March, 1732:

ON Tuesday the thirteenth instant I went on board a canoe in company with Mr. Geo. Ducat and Mr. John Balantine, with four negroes, and about ten o'clock we set out from Mr. Lloyd's bridge for Georgia, and passing by Port Royal on Wednesday night, we arrived on Friday morning, an hour before day, at Yamacraw, a place so called by the Indians but now Savannah in the colony of Georgia.

Some time before we came to the landing the sentinel challenged us, and understanding who we were, admitted us on shore. This is a very high bluff, forty feet perpendicular from high water mark. It lies, according to Captain Gascoigne's observation, in the latitude of $31^{\circ} 58'$, which he took off Tybee, an island that lies at the mouth of the Savannah river. It is distant from Charlestown, southwest, according to course and windings of the rivers and creeks, about one hundred and forty miles, but by a direct course, seventy-seven; allowing Suillivant's island to be in the latitude of $32^{\circ} 47'$ from Augustine, northeast and by east, about 140 miles, and by the course of the river is distant from Fort Moore three hundred miles, but upon a direct line but one hundred and fifteen miles, northwest by west. This bluff is distant ten miles from the mouth of the river on the south side, and Purrysburgh is twenty-four miles above it on the north; and is so situated that you have a beautiful prospect both up and down the river.

It is very sandy and barren, and consequently a wholesome place for a town or city.

There are on it one hundred and thirty odd souls, and from the time they embarked from London to the time I left the place, there died but two sucking children, and them at sea. When they arrived there was standing on it a great quantity of the best sort of pine, most of which is already cut down on the spot where the town is laid out to be built. The land is barren about a mile back, when you come into very rich ground, and on both sides, within a quarter of a mile of the town, is choice good planting land. Colonel Bull told me that he had been seven miles back and found it extraordinarily good.

Mr. Oglethorpe is indefatigable, takes a great deal of pains; his fare is but indifferent, having little else at present but salt provisions. He is extremely well beloved by all his people, the general title they give him is Father. If any of them are sick he immediately visits them, and takes a great deal of care of them. If any difference arises he is the person that decides it. Two happened while I was there and in my presence, and all the parties went away to outward appearance satisfied and contented with his determination. He keeps a strict discipline; I never saw one of his people drunk, nor heard one of them swear, all the time I was there. He does not allow them rum, but in lieu gives them English beer. It is surprising to see how cheerful the men go to work, considering they have not been bred to it. There are no idlers there, even the boys and girls do their parts.

There are four houses already up but none finished, and he hopes when he has got more sawyers, which I suppose he will have in a short time, to finish two houses a week. He has plowed up some land, part of which he has sowed with wheat which is come up and looks promising. He has two or three gardens which he has sown with divers sorts of seeds, and planted thyme and other sorts of pot-herbs, sage, leeks, skellions, celery, liquorice, etc., and several sorts of trees. He was palisading the town round, including some part of the common, which I do suppose may be finished in about a fortnight's time. In short, he has done a vast deal of work for the time, and I think his name justly deserves to be immortalized.

Mr. Oglethorpe has with him Sir Walter Rawleigh's written journal, and by the latitude of the place, the marks and traditions of the Indians, it is the very first place where he first went on shore and talked with the Indians, and was the first Englishman they ever saw; and about half a mile from Savannah is a high mound of earth under which lies their chief king, and the Indians told Mr. Oglethorpe that their king desired, before he died, that he might be buried on the spot where he talked with that great good man.

The river water is very good, and Mr. Oglethorpe has proved it several ways and thinks it as good as the river of Thames. On Monday the nineteenth we took our leave of Mr. Oglethorpe at nine o'clock in the morning and embarked for Charlestown, and when we set off he was pleased to honor us with a volley of small arms and the discharge of five cannon. And coming down the river we found the water perfectly fresh six miles below the town, and saw six or seven large sturgeon leap, with which fish that river abounds, as also with trout, perch, cat and rock fish, etc., and in the winter season there is variety of wild fowl, especially turkeys, some of them weighing thirty pounds, and abundance of deer.

NUMBER 3.

RULES FOR THE YEAR 1735.

THE trustees intend this year to lay out a county and build a new town in Georgia. They will give to such persons as they send upon the charity; viz., to every man, a watch-coat, a musket and bayonet to those who have them not of their own, a hatchet, hammer, hand-saw, shod shovel or spade, broad hoe, narrow hoe, gimlet, drawing knife, and there will be a public grindstone to each ward or village; he will also have an iron pot and a pair of pot-hooks, and a frying pan.

And for his maintenance in the colony for one year he will have three hundred pounds of beef or pork, one hundred and fourteen pounds of rice, one hundred and fourteen pounds of peas, one hundred and fourteen pounds of flour, forty-four gallons of strong beer, sixty-four quarts of molasses for brewing beer, eighteen pounds of cheese, nine pounds of butter,

nine ounces of spice, nine pounds of sugar, five gallons of vinegar, thirty pounds of salt, twelve quarts of lamp oil, one pound of spun cotton, and twelve pounds of soap; to be delivered in such proportions and at such times as the trustees shall think proper.

And to the mothers, wives, sisters, or children of such men, provision will be given in the colony for one year in the following manner; viz.,

To each head of them, that is to say, to every person of the age of twelve years and upwards; viz., three hundred pounds of beef or pork, one hundred and fourteen pounds of rice, one hundred and fourteen pounds of peas, one hundred and fourteen pounds of flour, sixty-four quarts of molasses for brewing beer, eighteen pounds of cheese, nine pounds of butter, nine ounces of spice, nine pounds of sugar, five gallons of vinegar, thirty pounds of salt, six quarts of lamp oil, one-half pound of spun cotton, and twelve pounds of soap; to be delivered as above.

And for every person above the age of seven and under the age of twelve, one-half the said allowance, being estimated one-half of a head.

And for every person above the age of two and under the age of seven, one-third of the said allowance, being estimated one-third of a head.

The trustees pay their passage from England to Georgia, and in the voyage they will have the following provisions; viz., in every week, four beef days, two pork days, and one fish day, and their allowance served out daily as follows; that is to say,

On the four beef days: Four pounds of beef for every mess of five heads, and two pounds and a half of flour, and half a pound of suet or plums.

On the two pork days: Five pounds of pork and two pints and a half of peas, for every five heads.

On the fish day: Two pounds and a half of fish and half a pound of butter, for every five heads.

The whole at sixteen ounces to the pound; and allow each head seven pounds of bread, of fourteen ounces to the pound, by the week.

And three pints of beer and two quarts of water (whereof one of the quarts for drinking and the other for boiling victuals) for each head by the day for the space of a month, and a

gallon of water (whereof two quarts for drinking and the other two for boiling victuals) for each head by the day, after during their being on the passage.

The heads to be accounted in this manner: Every person above the age of twelve years to be accounted a whole head; all persons of the age of seven years and under the age of twelve years to be accounted two for one; all persons above the age of two years and under the age of seven years to be accounted three for one; and any person under the age of two years is not to be accounted.

And the said persons are to enter into the following covenants before their embarkation; viz.,

That they will repair on board such ship as shall be provided for carrying them to the province of Georgia, and during the voyage will quietly, soberly, and obediently demean themselves, and go to such place in the said province of Georgia, and there obey all such orders as shall be given for the better settling, establishing, and governing the said colony.

And that for the first twelve months from their landing in the said province of Georgia they will work and labor in clearing their lands, making habitations and necessary defences, and in all other works for the common good and public weal of the said colony, at such times, in such manner, and according to such plan and directions as shall be given.

And that they, from and after the expiration of the said last-mentioned twelve months, will, during the two next succeeding years, abide, settle, and inhabit in the said province of Georgia, and cultivate the lands which shall be to them and their heirs male severally allotted and given, by all such ways and means as according to their several abilities and skills they shall be best able and capable.

And such persons are to be settled in the said colony either in new towns or new villages.

Those in the towns will have each of them a lot sixty feet in front and ninety feet in depth, whereon they are to build a house, and as much land in the country as in the whole will make up fifty acres.

Those in the villages will each of them have a lot of fifty acres, which is to lie all together, and they are to build their houses upon it.

All lots are granted in tail male, and descend to the heirs male of their bodies forever ; and in case of failure of issue male revert to the trust, to be granted again to such persons as the common council of the said trustees shall think most for the advantage of the colony. And they will have a special regard to the daughters of freeholders who have made improvements on their lots, not already provided for by having married or marrying persons in possession or entitled to lands in the province of Georgia in possession or remainder.

All lots are to be preserved separate and undivided and cannot be united, in order to keep up a number of men equal to the number of lots, for the better defence and support of the colony.

No person can lease out his house or lot to another without license for that purpose, that the colony may not be ruined by absentees receiving and spending their rents elsewhere ; therefore each man must cultivate the same by himself or servants.

And no person can alienate his land, or any part, or any term, estate, or interest therein, to any other person or persons without special license for that purpose, to prevent the uniting or dividing of the lots.

If any of the lands so granted should not be cultivated, planted, cleared, improved, or fenced with a worm fence or pales six feet high, during the space of ten years from the date of the grant, then every part thereof not cultivated, planted, cleared, improved, or fenced, as aforesaid, shall belong to the trust, and the grant as to such parts shall be void.

There is reserved for the support of the colony a rent charge forever of two shillings sterling money for each fifty acres, the payment of which is not to commence until ten years after the grant.

And the reversion or remainder expectant on the demise of such persons without issue male shall remain to the trust ; but the wives of the freeholders, in case they should survive their husbands, are during their lives entitled to the mansion-house and one-half of the lands improved by their husbands, that is to say, inclosed with a fence of six feet in height.

All forfeitures for non-residence, high treason, felonies, etc., are to the trustees for the use of the colony.

Negroes and rum are prohibited to be used in the said colony, and trade with the Indians unless licensed.

None are to have the benefit of being sent upon the charity in the manner above mentioned, but:

1. Such as are in decayed circumstances and thereby disabled from following any business in England, and who, if in debt, must have leave from their creditors to go.

2. Such as have numerous families of children, if assisted by their respective parishes and recommended by the minister, church wardens, and overseers thereof.

The trustees do expect to have a good character of the said persons given, because no drunkards or other notoriously vicious persons will be taken.

And for the better to enable the said persons to build the new town and clear the lands, the trustees will give leave to every freeholder to take over with him one male servant or apprentice of the age of eighteen years and upwards, to be bound for no less then four years, and will by way of loan to such freeholder advance the charges of passage for such servant or apprentice, and furnishing him with the clothing and provisions hereafter mentioned, to be delivered in such proportions and at such times as the trust shall think proper; viz.,

A pallias and bolster and blanket for bedding, a frock and trousers of linsey-woolsey, a shirt and frock and trousers of oznabrigs, a pair of shoes from England, and two pair of country shoes; for clothing.

Two hundred pounds of meat, and three hundred and forty-two pounds of rice, peas, or Indian corn; for food for a year.

The expense of which passage, clothing, and provisions is to be repaid the trustees by the master within the third year from their embarkation from England.

And to each man servant and the heirs male of his body forever, after the expiration of his service, upon a certificate from his master of his having served well, will be granted twenty acres of land, under such rents and agreements as shall have been then last granted to any other man servant in like circumstances.

Signed by order of the common council of the said trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, this second day of July, 1742.

BENJ. MARTYN,
Secretary.

NUMBER 4.

TO such persons who can carry ten men servants and settle with them in Georgia at their own expense, and whose characters the trustees, upon inquiry, shall approve of, will be granted five hundred acres of land in tail male, and descend to the heirs male of their bodies forever, under the yearly rents of twenty shillings sterling money for every hundred acres for the support of the colony, the payment of which is not to commence until ten years after the grant. And the land is so granted upon the following conditions and covenants:

That such persons do pay the rent reserved as the same shall become due, and no part to be unpaid for six months after due.

That they within a month of the grant shall register the same, or a memorial thereof, with the auditor of the plantations.

That they, within twelve months from the grant, shall go to and arrive in Georgia with ten able bodied men servants, being each of the age of twenty years and upwards.

That they shall abide in Georgia with such men servants three years from the registering the grant there, building their houses and cultivating their lands.

That they shall clear and cultivate, within ten years from the grant, two hundred acres of land, part of the said five hundred acres, and plant two thousand white mulberry trees or plants thereupon, and on every hundred of the other three hundred acres, one thousand white mulberry trees or plants when cleared, and preserve the same quantity from time to time thereupon, the trustees obliging themselves to furnish the plants.

That they do not alienate the said five hundred acres of land or any part thereof for any term of years, or any estate or interest in the same, to any person or persons without special leave.

That they do not make potash in partnership without leave, but may make it themselves not in partnership.

On the determination of the estate in tail male, the land to revert to the trust.

That they shall not depart the said province without license.

All forfeitures for non-residence, high treason, felonies, etc., are to the trustees for the use and benefit of the colony.

If any part of the said five hundred acres of land shall not be cultivated, planted, cleared, and fenced round about with worm-fence or pales six feet high, within eighteen years from the grant, all and every such part shall revert to the trust, and the grant as to such part be void.

And the common council of the trust, at the expirations of the terms such men servants shall be severally bound for (being not less than four years), when requested by the grantee, will grant to each of such men servants twenty acres of land in tail male, under such rents, conditions, limitations, and agreements as shall have been then last granted to any other men servants in like circumstance.

When the land reverts to the trust on the determination of the estate in tail male, it is to be granted again to such person as the common council of the trust shall think most for the advantage of the colony, and the trust will have a special regard to the daughters of such who have made improvements on their lots, not already provided for by having married or marrying persons in possession or intitled to lands in the province of Georgia in possession or remainder.

And the wives of such persons in case they should survive their husbands, are, during their lives entitled to the mansion-house and one-half of the lands improved by their husbands, that is to say, inclosed with a fence six feet high.

Negroes and rum are prohibited to be used in the said province, and trade with the Indians unless licensed.

NUMBER 5.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty ;

The humble memorial and representation of the state and condition of your majesty's province of South Carolina, from the general assembly of the said province.

YOUR majesty's most dutiful subjects of this province having often felt with hearts full of gratitude the many signal instances of your most sacred majesty's peculiar favor and protection, to those distant parts of your dominions, and

especially those late proofs of your majesty's most gracious and benign care, so wisely calculated for the preservation of this your majesty's frontier province on the continent of America, by your royal charter to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, and your great goodness so timely applied, for the promoting the settlement of the Swiss at Purrysburgh; encouraged by such views of your majesty's wise and paternal care extended to your remotest subjects, and excited by the duty we owe to your most sacred majesty, to be always watchful for the support and security of your majesty's interest, especially at this very critical conjuncture when the flame of a war breaking out in Europe may very speedily be lighted here in this your majesty's frontier province, which, in situation, is known to be of the utmost importance to the general trade and traffic in America. We, therefore, your majesty's most most faithful governor, council, and commons, convened in your majesty's province of South Carolina, crave leave with great humility to represent to your majesty the present state and condition of this your province, and how greatly it stands in need of your majesty's gracious and timely succor in case of a war, to assist our defence against the French and Spaniards, or any other enemies to your majesty's dominions, as well as against the many nations of savages which so nearly threaten the safety of your majesty's subjects.

The province of South Carolina and the new colony of Georgia are the southern frontiers of all your majesty's dominions on the continent of America, to the south and southwest of which is situated the strong castle of St. Augustine, garrisoned by four hundred Spaniards who have several nations of Indians under their subjection, besides several other small settlements and garrisons, some of which are not eighty miles distant from the colony of Georgia. To the southwest and west of us the French have erected a considerable town near Fort Toulouse on the Mowille river, and several other forts and garrisons, some not above three hundred miles distant from our settlements: and at New Orleans on the Mississippi river, since her late majesty Queen Anne's war, they have exceedingly increased their strength and traffic, and have now many forts and garrisons on both sides of that great river for

several hundred miles up the same ; and since his most christian majesty has taken out of the Mississippi company, the government of that country into his own hands, the French natives in Canada come daily down in shoals to settle all along that river, where many regular forces have of late been sent over by the king to strengthen the garrisons in those places, and according to our best and latest advices they have five hundred men in pay, constantly employed as wood rangers, to keep their neighboring Indians in subjection, and to prevent the distant ones from disturbing the settlements ; which management of the French has so well succeeded that we are now very well assured they have wholly now in their possession and under their influence the several numerous nations of Indians that are situate near the Mississippi river, one of which called the Choctaws by estimation consists of about five thousand fighting men, and who were always deemed a very warlike nation, lies on this side the river not above four hundred miles distant from our out-settlements, among whom, as well as several other nations of Indians, many French Europeans have been sent to settle whom the priests and missionaries among them encourage to take Indian wives, and use divers other alluring methods to attach the Indians the better to the French alliance, by which means the French are become thoroughly acquainted with the Indian way, warring and living in the woods, and have now a great number of white men among them able to perform a long march with an army of Indians upon any expedition.

We further beg leave to inform your majesty that if the measures of France should provoke your majesty to a state of hostility against it in Europe, we have great reason to expect an invasion will be here made upon your majesty's subjects by the French and Indians from the Mississippi settlements. They have already paved a way for a design of that nature by erecting a fort called the Alabama fort, alias Fort Lewis, in the middle of the Upper Creek Indians, upon a navigable river leading to Mowille, which they have kept well garrisoned and mounted with fourteen pieces of cannon, and have lately been prevented from erecting a second nearer to us on that quarter. The Creeks are a nation very bold, active, and daring, consisting of about thirteen hundred fighting men (and not above

one hundred and fifty miles distant from the Choctaws), whom, though we heretofore have traded with, claimed and held in our alliance, yet the French, on account of that fort and a superior ability to make them liberal presents, have been for some time striving to draw them over to their interest, and have succeeded with some of the towns of the Creeks; which, if they can be secured in your majesty's interest are the only nation which your majesty's subjects here can depend upon as the best barrier against any attempts either of the French or their confederate Indians.

We most humbly pray leave farther to inform your majesty that the French at Moville, perceiving that they could not gain the Indians to their interest without buying their deer skins (which is the only commodity the Indians have to purchase necessities with), and the French not being able to dispose of those skins by reason of their having no vend for them in Old France, they have found means to encourage vessels from hence, New York and other places (which are not prohibited by the acts of trade), to truck those skins with them for Indian trading goods, especially the British woolen manufactures, which the French dispose of to the Creeks and Choctaws, and other Indians, by which means the Indians are much more alienated from our interest, and on every occasion object to us that the French can supply them with strouds and blankets as well as the English, which would have the contrary effect if they were wholly supplied with those commodities by your majesty's subjects trading with them. If a stop were therefore put to that pernicious trade with the French, the Creek Indians' chief dependance would be on this government and that of Georgia, to supply them with goods; by which means great part of the Choctaws, living next the Creeks, would see the advantage the Creek Indians enjoyed by having British woolen manufactures wholly from your majesty's subjects, and thereby be invited in a short time to enter into a treaty of commerce with us, which they have lately made some offers for, and which, if effected, will soon lessen the interest of the French with those Indians, and by degrees attach them to that of your majesty.

The only expedient we can propose to recover and confirm that nation to your majesty's interest, is by speedily making

them presents to withdraw them from the French alliance, and by building some forts among them your majesty may be put in such a situation that on the first notice of hostilities with the French, your majesty may be able at once to reduce the Alabama fort, and we may then stand against the French and their Indians, which, if not timely prepared for before a war breaks out, we have too much reason to fear we may be soon overrun by the united strength of the French, the Creeks and Choctaws, with many other nations of their Indian allies; for, should the Creeks become wholly enemies, who are well acquainted with all our settlements, we probably should also be soon deserted by the Cherokees and a few others, small tribes of Indians, who, for the sake of our booty, would readily join to make us a prey to the French and savages. Ever since the late Indian-war the offences given us then by the Creeks have made that nation very jealous of your majesty's subjects of this province. We have, therefore, concerted measures with the Honorable James Oglethorpe, Esq., who, being at the head of a new colony will, we hope, be successful for your majesty's interest amongst that people. He has already by presents attached the Lower Creeks to your majesty, and has laudably undertaken to endeavor the fixing a garrison among the Upper Creeks, the expense of which is already in part provided for in this session of the general assembly of this province. We hope, therefore, to prevent the French from encroaching farther on your majesty's territories, until your majesty is graciously pleased further to strengthen and secure the same.

We find the Cherokee nation has lately become very insolent to your majesty's subjects trading among them, notwithstanding the many favors the chiefs of that nation received from your majesty in Great Britian, besides a considerable expense which your majesty's subjects of this province have been at in making them presents, which inclines us to believe that the French by their Indians have been tampering with them. We, therefore, beg leave to inform your majesty that the building and mounting some forts likewise among the Cherokees, and making them presents will be highly necessary to keep them steady in their duty to your majesty, lest the French may prevail in seducing that nation, which

they may the more readily be inclined to from the prospect of getting considerable plunder in slaves, cattle, etc., commodities which they very well know they have among us. Several other forts will be indispensably necessary, to be a cover to your majesty's subjects settled backwards in this province, as also to those of the colony of Georgia, both which in length are very extensive; for though the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, by a particular scheme of good management painfully conducted by the gentleman engaged here in that charitable enterprise, has put that small part of the colony, which he has not yet been able to establish, in a tenable condition against the Spaniards of Florida which lie to the southward; yet the back exposition of those colonies to the vast number of French and Indians which border on the westward must, in case of a war, cry greatly aloud for your majesty's gracious and timely succor. The expense of our safety on such an occasion, we must, with all humility, acquaint your majesty, either for men or money, can never be effected by your majesty's subjects of this province, who, in conjunction with Georgia, do not in the whole amount to more than three thousand five hundred men, which compose the militia and wholly consist of planters, tradesmen, and other men of business.

Besides the many dangers which by land we are exposed to from so many enemies that lie on the back of us, we further beg leave to represent to your majesty the defenseless condition of our ports and harbors, where any enemies of your majesty's dominions may very easily by sea invade us, there being no fortifications capable of making much resistance. Those in Charlestown harbor are now in a very ruinous condition, occasioned by the late violent storms and hurricanes which already cost this country a great deal of money, and now requires several thousands of pounds to repair the old and build new ones, to mount the ordnance which your majesty was graciously pleased to send us, which, with great concern, we must inform your majesty we have not yet been able to accomplish, being lately obliged for the defence and support of this your majesty's province and government, to raise, by a tax on the inhabitants, a supply of above forty thousand pounds paper currency per annum, which is a considerable

deal more than a third part of all the currency among us ; a charge which your majesty's subjects of this province are but barely able to sustain. Since your majesty's royal instruction to your majesty's governor here, an entire stop has been put to the duties which before accrued from European goods imported ; and if a war should happen, or any thing extraordinary, to be farther expensive here, we should be under the utmost difficulties to provide additionally for the same, lest an increase of taxes with an apprehension of danger, should drive away many of our present inhabitants, as well as discourage others from coming here to settle for the defence and improvement of your majesty's province, there being several daily moving with their families and effects to North Carolina, where there are no such fears and burdens.

We must, therefore, beg leave to inform your majesty, that, amidst our other perilous circumstances, we are subject to many intestine dangers from the great number of negroes that are now among us, who amount at least to twenty-two thousand persons, and are three to one of all your majesty's white subjects in this province. Insurrections against us have been often attempted, and would at any time prove very fatal if the French should instigate them by artfully giving them an expectation of freedom. In such a situation we most humbly crave leave to acquaint your majesty that even the present ordinary expenses necessary for the care and support of this your majesty's province and government, cannot be provided for by your majesty's subjects of this province, without your majesty's gracious pleasure to continue those laws for establishing the negroes and other duties for seven years, and for appropriating the same, which now lie before your majesty for your royal assent and approbation ; and the further expenses that will be requisite for the erecting some forts and establishing garrisons in the several necessary places, so as to form a barrier for the security of this your majesty's province, we most humbly submit to your majesty.

Your majesty's subjects of this province, with fullness of zeal, duty, and affection to your most gracious and sacred majesty, are so highly sensible of the great importance of this province to the French, that we must conceive it more than probable, if a war should happen, they will use all endeavors

to bring this country under their subjection. They would be thereby enabled to support their sugar islands with all sorts of provisions and lumber by an easy navigation, which to our great advantage is not so practicable from the present French colonies, besides the facility of gaining then to their interest most of the Indian trade on the northern continent ; they might then easily unite the Canadees and Choctaws with the many other nations of Indians which are now in their interest. And the several ports and harbors of Carolina and Georgia which now enable your majesty to be absolute master of the passage through the Gulf of Florida, and to impede, at your pleasure, the transportation home of the Spanish treasure, would then prove so many convenient harbors for your majesty's enemies by their privateers or ships of war to annoy a great part of the British trade to America, as well as that which is carried on through the Gulf from Jamaica ; besides the loss which Great Britain must feel in so considerable a part of its navigation, as well as the exports of masts, pitch, tar, and turpentine, which, without any dependence on the northern parts of Europe, are from hence plentifully supplied for the use of the British shipping.

This is the present state and condition of your majesty's province of South Carolina, utterly incapable of finding funds sufficient for the defence of this wide frontier, and so destitute of white men, that even money itself cannot here raise a sufficient body of them.

With all humility we therefore beg leave to lay ourselves at the feet of your majesty, humbly imploring your majesty's most gracious care in the extremities we should be reduced to on the breaking out of a war ; and that your majesty would be graciously pleased to extend your protection to us, as your majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think proper.

ROBERT JOHNSON.

THOMAS BROUGHTON,
President.

PAUL JENYS, Speaker.

In the Council-Chamber of South }
Carolina, ninth of April, 1734. }

NUMBER 6.

THOMAS PEARCE, aged forty years and upwards, of the Dover man-of-war, mariner, having been at Georgia in America, on board the Peter and James, Captain George Dymond, in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five; and, from that ship, on board the Hawk sloop, stationed at Georgia until the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine; and having sounded every inlet from the sea all along the coast of Georgia from Jekyll sound to Tybee sound, maketh oath and saith, that the said coast four leagues from the land is all even ground, not less than seven or eight fathom water, and any ship keeping in that depth of water may steer along the same with the greatest safety, and anchor if they have occasion: That on the bar at Jekyll there is at least thirteen and a half feet at low water, and at high spring tides twenty-four feet; and on the bar at Tybee there is at least sixteen and a half feet at low water, and at high water spring tides twenty-five and a half feet; and the difference between the spring and neap tides is generally between three and four feet.

And this deponent farther saith, that he is well assured, and would undertake by sounding with a boat, even at neap tides, to carry in forty-gun ships over either of the said bars; and saith that he had seen in the sound at St. Simon's from Jekyll bar ten sail of ships at one time, and that ten or twelve forty-gun ships may safely ride there; but behind Jekyll island there is water and room enough for shipping for ten miles up; and that the sound at Tybee is large enough to hold with safety seven or eight forty-gun ships.

And this deponent farther saith that ships in Jekyll sound may in twenty-four hours, from the bar, run out into the gulf-stream of Florida, through which stream the Spanish galleons (when not passing the windward passage), always come.

THOMAS PEARCE.

NUMBER 7.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty:

The humble memorial of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, humbly sheweth,

THAT they being intrusted by your majesty with the care of the colony of Georgia, which was formerly part of your majesty's province of South Carolina, and your majesty's colony of Georgia being very much exposed to the power of the Spaniards, and become an object of their envy by having valuable ports upon the homeward passage from the Spanish West Indies, and the Spaniards having increased their forces in the neighborhood thereof; the trustees, in consequence of the great trust reposed in them by your majesty, find themselves obliged humbly to lay before your majesty their inability sufficiently to protect your majesty's subjects settled in Georgia, under the encouragement of your majesty's charter, against this late increase of forces, and therefore become humble suppliants to your majesty, on the behalf of your subjects settled in the province of Georgia, that your majesty would be pleased to take their preservation into your royal consideration, that, by a necessary supply of forces the province may be protected against the great dangers that seem immediately to threaten it.

All which is most humbly submitted to your majesty's great wisdom.

Signed by order of the trustees this tenth day of August, 1737.

BENJ. MARTYN, Secretary.

NUMBER 8.

To the Honorable the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America. May it please your honors,

WE, whose names are underwritten, being all settlers, freeholders and inhabitants of the province of Georgia, and being sensible of the great pains and care exerted by you in endeavoring to settle this colony since it has been under your protection and management, do unanimously join to lay before you, with the utmost regret, the following particulars.

But in the first place we must beg leave to observe, that it has afforded us a great deal of concern and uneasiness that former representations made to you, of the same nature, have not been thought worthy of a due consideration, nor even of an answer. We have most of us settled in this colony in pursuance of a description and recommendation of it by you in Britain; and from the experience of residing here several years, do find, that it is impossible the measures hitherto laid down for making it a colony can succeed. None of all those who have planted their lands, have been able to raise sufficient produce to maintain their families, in bread-kind only, even though as much application and industry have been exerted to bring it about as could be done by men engaged in an affair in which they believe the welfare of themselves and posterity so much depended, and which they imagine must require more than ordinary pains to make it succeed; so that by the accumulated expenses every year of provisions, clothing, medicines, etc., for themselves, families, and servants, several of them have expended all their money, nay, even run considerably in debt, and so been obliged to leave off planting and making further improvements; and those who continue are daily exhausting more and more of their money, and some daily increasing their debts without a possibility of being reimbursed according to the present constitution.

This being now the general state of the colony, it must be obvious that people cannot subsist by their land according to their present establishment, and this being a truth resulting from trial, practice, and experience, cannot be contradicted by any theoretical scheme or reasoning. The land then, according to the present constitution, not being able to maintain the settlers here, they must unavoidably have recourse to and depend upon trade, but to our woeful experience likewise, the same causes that prevent the first obstruct the latter; for, though the situation of this place is exceeding well adapted for trade, and, if it were encouraged, might be much more improved by the inhabitants, yet the difficulties and restrictions which we hitherto have and at present do labor under, debar us of that advantage.

Timber is the only thing we have here which we can export, and notwithstanding we are obliged to fall it in planting

our land, yet we cannot manufacture it fit for a foreign market but at double the expense of other colonies; as for instance the river of May, which is but twenty miles from us, with the allowance of negroes, load vessels with that commodity at one-half of the price that we can do; and what would induce persons to bring ships here when they can be loaded with one-half of the expense so near us? Therefore the timber on the land is only a continual charge to the possessors of it, though of very great service in all the northern colonies where negroes are allowed, and consequently labor cheap.

We do not in the least doubt but that in time silk and wine may be produced here, particularly the former, but since the cultivation of lands with white servants only cannot raise provision for our families, as before mentioned, therefore it is likewise impossible to carry on these manufactures according to the present constitution. It is very well known that Carolina can raise everything that this colony can, and they, having their labor so much cheaper, will always ruin our market unless we are in some measure on a footing with them; and, as in both, the land is worn out in four or five years, and then fit for nothing but pasture, we must be always at a great deal more expense than they in clearing new land for planting.

The importation of the necessities for life comes to us at the most extravagant rate, merchants in general, especially of England, not being willing to supply the settlers with goods upon commission because no person here can make them any security of their lands and improvements, as is very often practiced in other places to promote trade when some of the employer's money is laid out in necessary buildings and improvements, fitted for the trade intended, without which it cannot be carried on. The benefit of the importation, therefore, is to all transient persons who do not lay out any money amongst us, but on the contrary carry every penny out of the place; and the chief reason for their enhancing the price is because they cannot get any goods here, either on freight or purchase, for another market.

If the advantage accruing from importation centered in the inhabitants, the profit thereof would naturally circulate amongst us, and be laid out in improvements in the colony. Your honors, we imagine, are not insensible of the numbers that

have left this province, not being able to support themselves any longer; and those still remaining who have money of their own and credit with their friends, have laid out most of the former in improvements, and lost the latter for doing it on such precarious titles. And upon account of the present establishment, not above two or three persons, except those brought on charity and servants sent by you, have come here for the space of two years past, either to settle land or encourage trade, neither do we hear of any such likely to come until we are on better terms.

It is true his majesty has been graciously pleased to grant a regiment for the defence of this province and the neighboring colony, which, indeed, will very much assist us in defending ourselves against all enemies, but otherwise does not in the least contribute to our support, for all that part of their pay which is expended here is laid out with transient people and our neighbors of Carolina, who are capable to supply them with provisions and other necessaries at a moderate price, which we, as before observed, are not at all capable to do upon the present establishment. This being our present condition it is obvious what the consequences must be.

But we, for our parts, having entirely relied on and confided in your good intentions, believing you would redress our grievances that should appear, and now, by our long experience from industry and continual application to improvement of land here, do find it impossible to pursue it, or subsist ourselves any longer, according to the present nature of the constitution. And likewise believing you will agree to those measures which are found by experience capable to make this colony succeed, and to promote which we have consumed our money, time, and labor, we do, from a sincere and true regard to its welfare, and in duty both to you and ourselves, beg leave to lay before your immediate consideration the two following chief causes of these our present misfortunes, and this deplorable state of the colony, and which, we are certain, if granted, would be an infallible remedy for both.

1. The want of a free title or fee simple to our lands, which, if granted, would occasion great numbers of new settlers to come among us, and likewise encourage those who remain here cheerfully to proceed in making further improvements, as

well to retrieve their sunk fortunes, as to make provision for their posterity.

2. The want and use of negroes with proper limitations, which, if granted, would both induce great numbers of white people to come here, and also render us capable to subsist ourselves by raising provisions upon our lands until we could make some produce of it for export, and in some measure to balance our importation. We are very sensible of the inconveniences and mischiefs that have already and do daily arise from an unlimited use of negroes, but we are as sensible that these might be prevented by a due limitation, such as, so many to each white man, or so many to such a quantity of land, or in any other manner which your honors shall think most proper.

By granting us, gentlemen, these two particulars, and such other privileges as his majesty's most dutiful subjects in America enjoy, you will not only prevent our impending ruin, but we are fully satisfied, also, will soon make this the most flourishing colony possessed by his majesty in America, and your memories will be perpetuated to all future ages, our latest posterity sounding your praises as their first founders, patrons, and guardians. But if, by denying us those privileges, we ourselves and families are not only ruined, but even our posterities likewise, you will always be mentioned as the cause and authors of all their misfortunes and calamities, which we hope will never happen.

We are, with all due respect, your honors' most dutiful and obedient servants,

Henry Parker,
Robert † Gilbert, his mark,
Thomas Christie,
John Fallowfield,
John Brownfield,
William Woodroofe,
Pat. Tailfer,
And. Grant,
Jos. Fitzwalter,
Elisha Forster,
Walter Fox,
William Ewen,
J. Amoury,
Ja. Houston,
James Williams,

Sam. Mercer,
Robert Williams,
Patrick Graham,
Da. Douglas,
Tho. Baillie,
Hugh Anderson,
James Carwells,
John Lyndall,
William Parker,
John Graham,
James Papot,
John Penrose,
David Snook,
Edward Townshend,
John Desborough,

Edward Jenkins,
 Thomas Omaston,
 Joseph Wardrop,
 George Buncle,
 Adrian Loyer,
 P. Joubert,
 John Burton,
 Robert Hows,
 Wm. † Maiers, his mark,
 Thomas Salter,
 James Baillow,
 James Anderson,
 John Seillie,
 William Starfickett,
 Petre Baillou,
 Peter Emory,
 Henry Lloyd,
 Wm. Elbert,
 John Smith,
 Wm. Calvert,
 Stephen Marrauld,
 Jacob Mathews,
 Isaac Young,
 Robert Hainks,
 Archibald Glen,
 Tho. Neale,
 Stephen † Terien, his mark,
 Sam. Ward,
 James † Smith, his mark,
 Pierre Morel,
 Stephen de Monford,
 David Gainder,
 James † Chensac, his mark,
 James † Landry, his mark,
 Simson † Rouviere, his mark,
 Louis Stamen,
 Thomas Tripp,
 Sam. Holmes,
 James Mure,
 James Dean,
 Don. Stewart,
 Gille Becu,
 Francis Brooks,
 John Clarke,
 Henry Green,
 Jacob Watts,

Andrew Duche,
 James Galloway,
 John Desborough, Jr.,
 Edward Bush,
 Benj. Adams,
 Charles Britain,
 John Rae,
 William Coltbred,
 John Young,
 Samuel Lacey,
 Andrew Walker,
 John Miller,
 Richard Rogers,
 Thomas Gantlet,
 Richard Millechamp,
 Isaac Young, Sr.,
 John Kelley,
 Jos. Stanley,
 Tho. † Young, his mark,
 Thomas † Cross, his mark,
 Richard Davis,
 Thomas Wattle,
 Thomas † Baillie, his mark,
 James Corneck,
 James Burnsides,
 Hugh † Frazer, his mark,
 Samuel Parker,
 William Sterling,
 Tho. Andrews,
 George Gorsand,
 John Stonehewer,
 John Teasdeall,
 Wm. † Greenfield, his mark,
 Cha. † Greenfield, his mark,
 Thomas † Young, his mark,
 James † Dormer, his mark,
 William Carter,
 Henry † Moulton, his mark,
 Thomas Tibbett,
 John Dudding,
 George † Bush, his mark,
 Peter † Deshter, his mark,
 Henry † Manley, his mark,
 Head Gardiner,
 Kenedy O'Brien.

Savannah in Georgia, December 9, 1738.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE
LATE WAR, under the Command of COLONELS
FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of
the lake from Erie to Long Point; also the crossing of Niagara
by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and
Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa,
the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the
author (then a captain) and their treatment; together with an
historical account of the Canadas, by SAMUEL WHITE, of
Adams County, Pennsylvania. Baltimore: Published by the
Author. B. Edes, Printer; 1830.

Three hundred signed and numbered copies only of this
scarce little book on the WAR OF 1812, printed from type,
1896. A copy will be mailed postpaid on receipt of price,
\$1.00, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange
Street, Rochester, N. Y.

GEORGE P. HUMPHREY

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER SIX

OCTOBER 1897

NOVA BRITANNIA: OFFERING MOST EXCELLENT FRUITS BY PLANTING IN VIRGINIA; EXCITING ALL SUCH AS BE WELL AFFECTED TO FURTHER THE SAME. LONDON: PRINTED FOR SAMUEL MACHAM, AND ARE TO BE SOLD AT HIS SHOP IN PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, AT THE SIGN OF THE BUL-HEAD, 1609.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by
GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER

Foreign Agents GAY & BIRD London England

NO
CELLS

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for Europe and the Colonies. The number for November will contain "The New Life of Virginia: Declaring the former success and present estate of that plantation, being the second part of Nova Britannia. Published by authority of his Majesty's Council of Virginia. London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, for William Welby, dwelling at the sign of the Swan, in Paul's Church-yard, 1612."

Recently Published.

AYTING

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS; or the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with Useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER, of COOPERS-TOWN, to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: Printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street; 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction especially written for this new edition by James Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, a great-grandson of Judge Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

TRAVELS in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York, and Vermont. Journals of John Lincklaen, agent of the Holland Land Company. With a biographical sketch and notes.

8 vo.

\$2.00.

Five hundred copies, only, printed.

NOVA BRITANNIA

OFFERING MOST

EXCELLENT FRUITS BY PLANTING

IN

VIRGINIA

EXCITING ALL SUCH AS BE WELL AFFECTED TO
FURTHER THE SAME.

LONDON:

Printed for SAMUEL MACHAM, and are to be sold at his shop
in Paul's Churchyard, at the Sign of the Bul-head.

1609.

COLONIAL TRACTS

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR THOMAS SMITH OF LONDON,
KNIGHT OF ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA,
AND TREASURER FOR THE COLONY AND GOVERNOR
OF THE COMPANIES OF THE MUSCOVIA AND EAST INDIA
MERCHANTS, PEACE, HEALTH, AND HAPPINESS IN CHRIST.

Right Worshipful Sir:

FORASMUCH as I have always observed your honest zeal to God, accompanied with so excellent carriage and resolution in actions of best consequence, I cannot but discover unto you for your further encouragement, the sum of a private speech or discourse, touching our plantation in Virginia, uttered not long since in London, where some few adventurers (well affecting the enterprise) being met together touching their intended project, one among the rest stood up and began to relate, in effect, as follows:

R. I.

NO 6 OCTOBER 1897

COLONIAL TRACTS

Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

VOL. I. COLONIAL TRACTS NO. 6.

NOVA BRITANNIA.
OFFERING MOST EXCELLENT FRUITS BY
PLANTING IN VIRGINIA

WHEREAS, in our last meeting and conference the other day, observing your sufficient reasons, answering all objections, and your constant resolution to go on in our plantation, they gave me so good content and satisfaction that I am driven against myself to confess my own error in standing out so long, whereby many of you, my friends, were engaged in the business before me, at whose often instigations I was but little moved, and lightly esteemed of it till being in place, where observing the wise and prudent speech of a worthy gentleman, well known to you all, a most painful manager of such public affairs within this city, which moved so effectually, touching the public utility of this noble enterprise, that withholding no longer, I yielded my money and endeavors as others did to advance the same, and now, upon more advised consideration, I must needs say I never accounted my poor means employed to better purpose; then by God's help the success of this may be, and therefore I cannot but deliver (if you please to hear), what I rudely conceive of a sudden.

There are divers monuments already published in print to the world, manifesting and showing that the coast and parts of Virginia have been long since discovered, peopled, and possessed by many English, both men, women, and children, the natural subjects of our late Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, conducted and left there at sundry times. And that the same footing and possession is there kept and possessed by the same English, or by their seed and offspring, without any interruption or invasion, either of the savages, the natives of the country, or of any other prince or people, for ought we hear or know to this day, which argues sufficiently to us, and it is true, that over those English and Indian people no christian king or prince other than James, our soverigh lord and king,

ought to have rule or dominion, or can by possession, conquest, or inheritance, truly claim or make just titles to those territories, or to any part thereof, except it be, as we hear of late, that a challenge is laid to all, by virtue of a donation from Alexander, the first Pope of Rome, wherein, they say, is given all the West Indies, including Florida and Virginia, with all America, and whatsoever islands adjacent.

But what is this to us? they are blind indeed that stumble here; it is much like that great donation of Constantine whereby the Pope himself does hold and claim the City of Rome, and all the Western Empire, a thing that so crosseth all histories of truth, and sound antiquity, that by the apt resemblance of those two donations—the whole West Empire from a temporary prince to the Pope, and the whole West Indies from the Pope to a temporary prince. I do verily guess they be near of kin, they are so like each other; the one an old tale, vain and fabulous, the other a new toy most idle and ridiculous.

When the flatterers of Cambises, King of Persia, could find no law to warrant his immoderate lust and incestuous marriage with his own daughter, yet they told him of another law which they had found, whereby the kings of Persia might do what they listed; if in these cases likewise there be a law that the Pope may do what he list, let them that list obey him, for we believe not in him.

Letting go, therefore, these legendary fables, which, howsoever, some men hold authentic as their creed, yet are they in the judgment of wise men, things of no value, nor do import to us any cause of doubt or fear, but that we go on in our honest enterprise and lawful purpose now in hand, that, as we hope, his majesty mindeth not the relinquishing his estate and interest, derived to him by right of succession from his immediate predecessor, but for the further planting and succoring our old colony hath given us leave to make new supplies, which we lately sent thither under the conduct of Christopher Newport, captain; and hath granted many gracious privileges, under the great seal, to us and to our heirs forever, that will adventure or plant in the said plantation. So I wish and entreat all well affected subjects, some in their persons, others in their purses, cheerfully to adventure, and jointly to take in hand this high and acceptable work, tending to advance and spread

the kingdom of God, and the knowledge of the truth among so many millions of men and women, savage and blind, that never yet saw the true light shine before their eyes, to enlighten their minds and comfort their souls, as also for the honor of our king, and enlarging of his kingdom, and for preservation and defence of that small number our friends and countrymen already planted, least for want of more supplies we become a scorn to the world, subjecting our former adventures to apparent spoil and hazard, and our people, as we pray, to be sacked and pulled out of possession, as were the French out of Nova Francia not many years ago, and which is the least and last respect, yet usually preferred, for the singular good and benefit that will undoubtedly arise to this whole nation, and to every one of us in particular that will adventure therein, as by true relation, God willing, I shall make it manifestly appear to all.

It is known to the world, and cannot be forgotten, that the days and reign of Queen Elizabeth brought forth the highest degree of wealth, happiness and honor that ever England had before her time, whereof to let pass the particular praises as impertinent to my purpose, I do only call to mind our royal fleets and merchant ships (the jewels of our land); our excellent navigators and admirable voyages, as into all parts and round about the globe with good success; to the high fame and glory of our nation, so especially their aim and course was most directed to the new found world; to the mainland and infinite islands of the West Indies; intending to discover with what convenience to plant and settle English colonies in places not already possessed and inhabited by subjects of other christian princes, wherein after many tedious and perilous adventures, howsoever strange seas and miserable famine had devoured and distressed ships and men of inestimable value, yet were not the remnant escaping, swallowed up of despair, nor their heart and spirits daunted with fear; but daily armed afresh with invincible courage and greater resolution, scorning to sit down by their losses, made new attempts, not enduring to look on while so huge and spacious countries, the fourth part of the world, and the greatest and wealthiest part of all the rest, should remain a wilderness, subject, for the most part, but to wild beasts and fowls of the air, and to savage

people which have no christian nor civil use of anything; and that the subjects only of one Prince Christian, which but within the memory of man began first to creep upon the face of those territories, and now by means of their remnants settled here and there, do therefore imagine the world to be theirs, shouldering out all other nations, accounting themselves kings and commanders, not only in towns and places where they have planted, but over all other parts of America which contain sundry vast and barbarous regions, many of which, to this day, they never knew, nor did ever settle foot therein; which, notwithstanding, if it were yielded to them as due, yet their strength and means far inferior to their aspires, will never stretch to compass or replenish the hundredth part thereof. And this we proved true not many years ago, our prince and theirs being then at open hostilities, their best and chiefest residences were scattered with so poor and slender troops that with handfuls of men, at sundry times, we ran through all, surprising and sacking their strongest forts and towns in those parts, and might long since with ease, following and seconding our forces, have set them to their stint.

But seeing we so passed by their dwellings, that in seating ourselves we sought not to unsettle them, but by God's mercy, after many storms, were brought to the coast of another country far distant and remote from their habitations; why should any frown or envy at it, or if they do, why should we, neglecting so fair an opportunity, faint or fear to enlarge ourselves. Where is our force and ancient vigor? Does our late reputation sleep in the dust? No, no, let not the world deceive itself! We still remain the same, and upon just occasion given, we shall quickly show it, too, having now by God's blessing more means than ever heretofore, being strongly fenced where we wonted to lie open. Our plant, we trust, is firmly rooted, our arms and limbs are strong, our branches fair and much desire to spread themselves abroad.

But before I come to describe this earthly paradise, or to prove the points of my proposition mentioned before, you shall know that the first discovery and actual possession taken thereof was in the reign and by the subjects of Henry the Seventh of England, at which time did Spain also discover; and by that right of discovery doth retain and hold their Nova

Hispania and all other their limits upon that coast. But that we now intend to ground upon is a more late discovery and actual possession, taken in the name and right of Queen Elizabeth, in Anno 1584, the 13th of July, as it is truly set down in the Book of English Voyages by sundry English captains and gentlemen in that voyage, whose names are recorded in that discourse (and many of whom are yet living), whereof when her majesty had true information she named the country Virginia, and did assign to Walter Raleigh, then a gentlemen of worth, power, and authority, to plant forces and colonies there at his pleasure, who transported thither in Anno 1587, by the conduct of John White, chief leader, above an hundred men, women, and children at one time, and left them there to inhabit to this day. Notwithstanding, it is true indeed, as some may object. It is now above twenty years ago since these things were done, and yet ever since in all this time, we never saw or heard of any good that hath come from thence, nor of any hope that might encourage us anew to engage ourselves therein.

But let us rightly weigh the reasons of it and then judge. Those hundred and upward conducted thither by John White and whose particular names you may see recorded in the same Book of Voyages, were left there with intent and promise to be supplied from England with more companies and all necessities the next year following; in the meantime they were to plant and fortify themselves in best manner they could, and to make a discovery of such minerals and other merchandise as the country should yield by nature. But as all good actions have their crosses and their bane attending on them, so had this; for that those which had the managing of a new supply being the next year sufficiently furnished to sea for that end, yet most unnaturally being tainted with that common corruption of time, turned their heads another way, and with greedy minds betook themselves wholly to hunt after pillage upon the Spanish coast, where spending their men, their time and provisions, they were not able (being come and arrived at the port) to make up into the land to visit and relieve their friends, but were forced to retire for England again, whereby the edge of those adventurers that set them forth was so abated that this most honorable enterprise, so happily begun, was by this

last occasion most unhappily ended; neither had our poor countrymen left there any means from thence to visit us, nor in all this time to give us any light of their own estate; whereas then, if those beginnings had been followed as they ought, and as by God's help we now intend, that country had long since become a most royal addition to the crown of England, and a very nursery and fountain of much wealth and strength to this kingdom.

When Christopher Columbus, the first bewrayer of this new world, was to make his proffer where he liked best, he chose Henry the Seventh of England, as in those days the most worthy and best furnished for navigations of all the kings in Christendom, offering to invest his majesty with the most precious and richest vines of the whole earth, never known before, as he did also the like to the kings of Portugal and Spain, who, as the story saith, for his poor apparel and simple looks, and for the novelty of his proposition, was of most men accounted a vain fool and utterly rejected, save that the Spanish better conceiving than some others, began to entertain and make use of his skill, which within these hundred years hath brought forth those apparent fruits to the world as cannot be hid. Their territories enlarged, their navigations increased, their subjects enriched and their superfluity of coin overspreading all parts of the world, procures their crown to flourish and highly commendeth the wisdom of Spain, whose quick apprehension and speedy address prevented all other princes: albeit, as you know, their greatness of mind arising together with their money and means, hath turmoiled all Christendom these forty years and more.

And this I but mention to note the blind diffidence of our English natures, which laugh to scorn the name of Virginia, and all other new projects, be they never so probable, and will not believe till we see the effects; as also to show how capable men ought to be in things of great importance, advisedly to take the first occasions. We read of Hannibal when chasing home the Romans to the gates of Rome, and neglecting then to scale the walls, could never after, with all his strength and policies, come near the like advantage; yet I must briefly tell you now, what I conceive with joy, that howsoever the business of this plantation hath been formerly mis-

carried, yet it is now going on in better way, not enterprised by one or two private subjects, who, in their greatness of mind, sought to compass that which rather beseeemed a mighty prince such as ours, or the whole state to take in hand; for it is not unknown to you all how many noble men of honorable minds, how many worthy knights, merchants and others of the best disposition, are now joined together in one charter, to receive equal privileges, according to their several adventures; every man engaging his purse, and some noblemen, knights, and gentlemen intending to go in their own persons, which I did hear to protest and vow against any people whomsoever shall anyway seek to entrap or impeach our proceedings, an utter revenge upon their bodies or goods if they be to be found upon sea or land, whereby we have assured hope (God assisting us), to be effectually able to make good against all, and in short time to bring to a most happy event the thing we take in hand.

And now in describing the natural seat and disposition of the country itself, if I should say no more but with Caleb and Joshua: "The land which we have searched out is a very good land. If the Lord love us he will bring our people to it and will give it us for a possession," this were enough to you that are willing, but yet a little more in particular observed by the best maps and printed discourses, and by conference of such as have been lately there and seen it, I think good to deliver to satisfy others: First, the voyage is not long or tedious; six weeks at ease will send us thither, whereas six months suffice not to some other places where we trade. Our course and passage is through the great ocean, where is no fear of rocks or flats, nor subject to the straights and restraint of foreign princes; most winds that blow are apt and fit for us, and none can hinder us. When we come to the coast there is continual depth enough, with good bottom for anchor hold, and the land is fair to fall withal, full of excellent good harbors; the world affords no better for ships of all burdens, many pleasant islands, great and small, affronting the coast. Two goodly rivers are discovered winding far into the main, the one in the north part of the land by our western colony, knights and gentlemen of Excester, Plymouth and others. The other in the south part thereof by our colony of

London. Upon which river, being both broad, deep and pleasant, abounding with store of fish, our colony have begun to fortify themselves, and have built a town and named it, in honor of our king, Jamestown, four-score miles within land, upon the north side of the river, as is London upon the river of Thames, from whence we have discovered the same river one hundred miles further into the mainland, in the searching whereof they were so ravished with the admirable sweetness of the stream, and with the pleasant land trending along on either side, that their joy exceeded and with great admiration they praised God.

The country itself is large and great assuredly, though as yet, no exact discovery can be made of all. It is also commendable and hopeful every way; the air and climate most sweet and wholesome, much warmer than England and very agreeable to our natures. It is inhabited with wild and savage people, that live and lay up and down in troupes like herds of deer in a forest. They have no law but nature; their apparel, skins of beasts, but most go naked. The better sort have houses, but poor ones. They have no arts nor science, yet they live under superior command, such as it is; they are generally very loving and gentle, and do entertain and relieve our people with great kindness. They are easy to be brought to good, and would fain embrace a better condition. The land yieldeth naturally for the sustenance of man, abundance of fish, both scale and shell; of land and water fowls, infinite store; of deer, kine, and fallow, stags, coneys, and hares, with many fruits and roots good for meat.

There are valleys and plains streaming with sweet springs, like veins in a natural body; there are hills and mountains making a sensible proffer of hidden treasure, never yet searched. The land is full of minerals, plenty of woods (the wants of England); there are growing goodly oak and elms, beech and birch, spruce, walnut, cedar, and fir trees in great abundance; the soil is strong and lusty of its own nature, and sendeth out naturally fruitful vines running upon trees and shrubs. It yields also resin, turpentine, pitch, and tar, sasafra, mulberry trees, and silkworms; many skins and rich furs, many sweet woods and dye woods, and other costly dyes; plenty of sturgeon, timber for shipping, mast, plank, and deal,

soap ashes, caviare, and what else we know not yet, because our days are young. But of this that I have said, if bare nature be so amiable in its naked kind, what may we hope when art and nature both shall join and strive together to give best content to man and beast? As now in handling the several parts propounded, I shall show in order as they lie.

For the first (if I forget not myself), how it may tend to advance the kingdom of God by reducing savage people from their blind superstition to the light of religion, when some object, we seek nothing less than the cause of God, being led on by our own private ends; and secondly how we can warrant a supplantation of those Indians, or an invasion into their right and possessions.

To the first we say, as many actions both good in themselves and in their success, have been performed with bad intents, so in this case, howsoever our naughtiness of mind may sway very much, yet God may have the honor, and his kingdom advanced in the action done. But yet, by the way, methinks this objection comes in due time, and doth well admonish us how to rectify our hearts and ground our meditations before we begin. We do generally applaud and highly commend the goodness of the cause, and that it is such a profitable plough as every honest man ought to set his hand unto, both in respect of God and the public good. This is our general voice, and we say truth, for so it is.

But we must beware that under this pretence that bitter root of greedy gain be not so settled in our hearts, that being in a golden dream, if it fall not out presently to our expectation, we slink away with discontent and draw our purses from the charge. If any show this affection, I would wish his baseness of mind to be noted. What must be our direction then—no more but this: If thou to once approve the work, lay thy hand to it cheerfully, and withdraw it not till thy task be done at all assayes and new supplies of money be not lag, nor like a dull horse that's always in the lash, for here lies the poison of all good attempts, when as men without hauling and pulling, will not be drawn to performance, for by this others are discouraged, the action lies undone and the first expense is lost. But are we to look for no gain in the lieu of all adventures? Yes, undoubtedly there is assured hope of gain, as I will show anon

in due place, but look it be not chief in your thoughts. God that hath said by Solomon: "Cast thy bread upon the waters 'and after many days thou shalt find it,'" he will give the blessing. And as for supplanting the savages, we have no such intent. Our intrusion into their possessions shall tend to their great good, and no way to their hurt, unless as unbridled beasts, they procure it to themselves. We purpose to proclaim and make it known to them all by some public interpretation, that our coming thither is to plant ourselves in their country, yet not to supplant and root them out, but to bring them from their base condition to a far better. First, in regard to God the Creator, and of Jesus Christ their-Redeemer, if they will believe in him. And secondly, in respect of earthly blessings, whereof they have now no comfortable use, but in beastly, brutish manner, with promise to defend them against all public and private enemies. We can remember since Don Jon Daquila with his forces invading Ireland, a noble, civil kingdom where all except a few runagates were settled in the truth of religion, and lived by wholesome laws, under the mild government of christian kings and princes, long before his grandsier's cradle. Yet he thought it no robbery to proclaim and publish to the world that his coming thither was to none other end but to free their nation from their bondage and tyrannous subjection, and to bring the blind souls to Catholic religion — a plausible pretence, the least end of his thought.

But if this were coined in these days by the printers themselves, to pass for current through the world, howsoever base it was indeed, we hope they will be as favorable to our case, and give as free passage and allowance to our invasion, much more current and so far different as not to bring a people (according to our proverb) out of the frying pan into the fire, but to make their condition truly more happy by a mutual interchange and commerce in this sort. That as to our great expense and charge, we make adventures to impart our divine riches, to their inestimable gain, and to cover their naked misery with civil use of food and clothing, and to train them by gentle means to those manual arts and skill which they so much affect and do admire to see in us. So in lieu of this we require nothing at their hands but a quiet residence to us and ours, that by our own labor and toil we may work this

unto them and recompence our own adventures, costs, and travels in the end. Wherein they shall be most friendly welcome to conjoin their labors with ours, and shall enjoy equal privileges with us in whatsoever good success time or means may bring to pass. To which purpose we may verily believe that God has reserved in this last age of the world an infinite number of those lost and scattered sheep, to be won and recovered by our means, of whom so many as obstinately refused to unite themselves unto us, or shall maligne or disturb our plantation, our chattel, or whatsoever belonging to us, they shall be held and reputed, recusant, withstanding their own good, and shall be dealt with as enemies of the commonwealth of their country, whereby how much good we shall perform to those that be good, and how little injury to any, will easily appear by comparing our present happiness with our former ancient miseries, wherein we had continued brutish, poor, and naked Britains to this day if Julius Cæsar, with his Roman legions (or some other) had not laid the ground to make us tame and civil.

But for my second point propounded (the honor of our king by enlarging his kingdom) to prove how this may tend to that, no argument of mine can make it so manifest, as the same is clear in itself. Divine testimony shows that the honor of a king consists in the multitude of subjects, and certainly the Jews were far more glorious by the conquests of David, and under the ample reign of Solomon, than ever before or after. The twelve tribes were then all subject; the bordering nations tributary, no doubt a happy subjection to many of them, whereby they had the better means to believe and know God the creator of heaven and earth. Honorable, I grant, is just conquest by sword, and Hercules is fained to have had all his felicity in subduing and rooting out the tyrants of the world; but unfeignedly it is most honorable indeed to subdue the tyranny of the roaring lion that devours those poor souls in their ignorance and leads them to hell for want of light when our dominions shall be enlarged and the subjects multiplied of a people so bought and ransomed, not by storms of raging cruelties (as West India was converted) with rapier's point and musket shot, murdering so many millions of naked Indians, as their stories do relate, but by fair and loving means suiting to

our English natures, like that soft and gentle voice wherein the Lord appeared to Elias. How honorable will this be in the sight of men, and of ages to come? But much more glorious in the sight of God, when our King shall come to make his triumph in heaven. The prophet Daniel doth assure that for this conquest of turning many unto righteousness he shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.

And yet this is not all that may be said: the ancient law, the law of Moses, sets it down as a blessed thing when the prince and people of God shall be able to lend to all, and need to borrow of none; and it added very much to the fame and wisdom of King Solomon, which the world came far and near to wonder at, in that his kingdoms were replenished with gold and silver in abundance, and with riches brought in by ships sent yearly forth in ample trade of merchandise, whereof we read not the like among all the kings of Israel. And upon good warrant I speak it here in private, what by these new discoveries into the western parts, and our hopeful settling in chiefest places of the East, with our former known trades in other parts of the world, I do not doubt, by the help of God, but I may live to see the days, if merchants have their due encouragement, that the wisdom, majesty, and honor of our king shall be spread and enlarged to the ends of the world, our navigations mightily increased, and his majesty's customs more than trebled.

And as for the third part—the relieving of our men already planted, to preserve both them and our former adventures, I shall not need to say much; the necessity is so apparent that I hope no adventurer will be wanting therein.

Our Saviour, Christ, resembles them that give over in their best duties, to foolish builders that, having laid the foundation, do grovel themselves in the middle way, and so become ridiculous. It had been extreme madness in the Jews, when, having sent to spy the land that flowed with milk and honey, and ten for two returned back with tidings of impossibility to enter and prevail, if then they had retired and lost the land of promise. No doubt the devil that envied then that enterprise doth now the like in ours, and we must make account, and look to be encountered with many discouragements, partly by our friends and neighbors, such as (we use to say) will neither go

to church nor tarry at home, as also (which is no new thing) even by such as have been sent to spy the land, one while objecting the charge will be great, the business long, and the gains nothing, and, besides, the Anakim that dwell in the mountains will come and pull us out by the ears, with such like fooleries, I know not what.

But we must be prepared, with Caleb and Joshua, so highly commended, to oppose an extraordinary zeal against the detractings of such, to rescue our enterprise from malicious ignorance, and to still their murmurings with reproofs, for though, in ordinary and common occasions, it be our duty to be carried with ordinary patience, meekness, and humility, yet to show an excellent spirit when the cause is worth it, and in such a case as this requiring passing resolution. It is but our weakness to stumble at straws, and a baseness to gnaw upon every bone that is cast in our way, which we may observe by those noble dogs of Albania, presented to King Alexander, whose natures contemned to encounter or prey upon seely beasts of no valor, but with an overflowing courage flying upon the lion and the tiger, did then declare their virtue.

And now it follows, how it can be good for this commonwealth, which is likewise most apparent many ways. First, if we consider what strength of shipping may be raised and maintained thence, in furnishing our own wants of sundry kinds, and the wants of other nations too, in such needful things arising thence which can hardly now be obtained from any other part of the world, as plank and timber for shipping, with deal and wainscot, pipestaves, and clapboard, with store of soap ashes, whereof there grow the best woods to make them in great abundance, all which we may there have, the wood for the cutting, and the ashes for the burning, which, though they be gross commodities, yet no merchandise is better requested nor will sooner yield gold or silver in any of our bordering nations. England and Holland alone spend in these about three hundred thousand pounds sterling every year. We may transport hither or unto Hamburg, Holland, or other places, fifty per centum better cheap, than from Prussia or Polonia, from whence they are only now to be had, where also the woods are so spent and wasted, that from the place where the wood is cut and the ashes burnt, they are

brought by land at least two hundred miles to ship. And from thence we may have iron and copper also in great quantity, about which the expense and waste of wood, as also for building of ships, will be no hurt, but great service to that country; the great superfluity whereof, the continual cutting down, in many hundred years, will not be able to overcome, whereby will likewise grow a greater benefit to this land, in preserving our woods and timber at home, so infinitely and without measure upon these occasions cut down and fallen to such a sickness and wasting consumption, as all the physic in England cannot cure.

We doubt not but to make there in few years store of good wines as any from the Canaries, by replanting and making tame the vines that naturally grow there in great abundance; only send men of skill to do it, and coopers to make casks, and hoops for that and all other uses, for which there is wood enough at hand.

There are silkworms and plenty of mulberry trees, whereby ladies, gentlewomen, and little children, being set in the way to do it, may be all employed with pleasure in making silk comparable to that of Persia, Turkey, or any other. We may bring from thence sturgeon, caviare, and new land fish of the best. There grows hemp for cordage, an excellent commodity, and flax for linen cloth, which, being sewn and well manured, in such a climate and fertile soil, will make great benefit and will put down that of other countries.

And for the making of pitch, tar, turpentine, soap ashes, deal, wainscot, and such like, we have already provided and sent thither skilled workmen from foreign parts, which may teach and set ours in the way, whereby we may set many thousands at work in these such like services.

For, as I told you before, there must be art and industry with our helps and means extended, with a little patience to bring these things to pass, we must not look to reap with joy except we sow in tears. The abundance of King Solomon's gold and silver did not rain from heaven upon the heads of his subjects, but heavenly providence blessed his navigations and public affairs, the chief means of their wealth.

Experience has lately taught us by some of our neighbor provinces, how exceedingly it mounts the state of a common-

wealth to put forth navigation, if it were possible, into all parts and corners of the world, to furnish our own wants, and also to supply, from one kingdom to another, such several needful things as for want of shipping and other means they cannot furnish of themselves; for this will raise experience and men of skill, as also strength at sea and land, with honor, wealth, and riches returning still to the heads and fountains from whence their first occasions grew.

We may but look a little back and we shall see what a novice our nation was within these six-score years in case of foreign trade, not knowing whence to fetch nor which way to transport, but only to some mart or staple town within two days' sailing, and that was counted so great a matter then that therefore they were called merchant adventurers; and the great hulks of Italy, which in those days brought spices, currants, and such like, and landed at Southampton (the storehouse then for merchandise) are chronicled for wonders in our English stories, for indeed we knew no better then, but were content, as babes, with easterlings on the one hand and Lombards on the other, which were continual liegers in London, and fed us as they listed.

And take this ever as a rule, that domestic merchandising brings forth but poor effects in a commonwealth, whereof I needed not have showed example further than our own doors.

What was the case of England before the golden days of Queen Elizabeth, at whose coming to the crown the state of merchants was so poor and mean that renting out her customs in wards, but at a very low rate, yet it brought the farmer upon his knees.

A man that marks the difference, and shall compare those times and these together, shall think it were impossible, unless his knowledge taught him otherwise, that the days and reign of one Elizabeth, whose hand was ever lending to distressed neighbor princes, and her sword unsheathed continually, repulsing foreign enemies, yet should relieve and raise the state of her customs, the strength of her navy, and the condition of her people, every way seven-fold to that they were before, only by encouraging the royal trade of merchandise as we see it this day apparent. Let God have the honor, and blessed be her memory, and the memorial of those managers of state in

her days for their worthy counsels, many of which, though they now sleep and rest with their sovereign in peace, yet some do still remain and do succeed in place, where long may they stand and their seed after them, like the pillars and worthies of King David, to shield the head and honor of our Solomon, and still to uphold and enlarge our happiness forever; and this I am driven to speak and mention by the way, where I meant it not in regard of some which upon a disaster begin to wax weary of all, discouraging themselves and others from this and all other foreign adventures, to let them know that each thing hath increase from whence it had beginning, and to put ourselves in mind that we fail not in furthering those causes that bring forth such effects.

Another instance might be shown in one particular, which taxeth very much our English nation and all the subjects of our sovereign king, that, enjoying such plenty of woodlands and fruitful soils within England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, yet our want of industry is such that Netherlanders, which have not a stick of wood growing, nor any land for sowing, should surpass and go beyond us in continual plenty of corn and shipping. Methinks the reformation hereof should find more favor at our hands, that in such points of civil policy, no people of lesser means should cast us so behind, and each well-minded man should lend his help to heal and cure such stains and scars in the face of our state, as being viewed and weighed well, may very well make us blush.

And now to our present business in hand, which so many stumble at: in regard of the continual charge, I would have them know that it cannot be great nor long, as the business may be handled. Two things are especially required herein: people to make the plantation, and money to furnish our present provisions and shippings now in hand. For the first we need not doubt, our land abounding with swarms of idle persons, which having no means of labor to relieve their misery, do likewise swarm in lewd and naughty practices, so that if we seek not some ways for their foreign employment, we must provide shortly more prisons and corrections for their bad conditions, for it fares with populous common weals, as with plants and trees that be too frolic, which not able to sustain and feed their multitude of branches, do admit an engraft-

ing of their buds and scions into some other soil, accounting it a benefit for preservation of their kind, and a disburdening their stock of those superfluous twigs that suck away their nourishment. And we shall find that hence it was, the Goths and Vandals with other barbarous nations, seeing an overflowing of their multitudes at home, did therefore send their armies out as raging floods, at sundry times, to cover the faces of Spain, Italy, and other provinces, to free their own from pestering, so that you see it no new thing, but most profitable for our state, to rid our multitudes of such as lie at home, pestering the land with pestilence and penury, and infecting one another with vice and villainy worse than the plague itself; whose very miseries drive many of them, by means to be cut off, as bad and wicked members, or else both them and theirs to be relieved at the common charge of others.

Yet I do not mean that none but such unsound members and such poor as want their bread, are fittest for this employment; for we intend to have of every trade and profession, both honest, wise, and painful men, whereof our land and city is able to spare, and furnish many, as we had experience in our last sending thither, which will be glad to go and plant themselves so happily, and their children after them, to hold and keep conformity with the laws, language, and religion of England forever.

Touching which, I do earnestly admonish you to beware and shun three kinds of people: The first, a most vile minded sort, and for the most part bad members of this city, by some means shaken out of their honest courses, and now shifting by their wits, will be always devising some unhappiness to wrong the plantation; such as daily beat their brains, and seek by lying suggestions, under color of good pretence to the commonwealth to infringe our ancient liberties, and would, if they were not met withal and curbed by authority, make a monopoly to themselves of each thing after other, belonging to the freedom of every man's profession, the very wrack of merchandising.

The second sort are papists, professed or recusant of which I would not one, seasoned with the least taint of that leaven, to be settled in our plantation, nor in any part of that country, but if once perceived, such a one, weed him out, and ship him

home for England, for they will ever be plotting and conspiring to root you out if they can; howsoever they swear, flatter, and equivocate, believe them not. Keep only these two examples in mind.

Watson, the seminary priest, in his printed "*Quodlibets*," he of all other men protesteth the greatest truth and fidelity to his prince and country, objecting all the bloody plots and treasons to have come from the combination of Jesuits, and from Parsons, the arch-athiest-in-chief, but as for himself he wished no longer to live and breathe; then the thoughts of his heart should be true and upright to his prince and country. Notwithstanding, this Watson was the very first wretch of all others that had his hand in treason against our king, and reaped his reward according to his wish.

The other example is a Popish pamphlet, called the "*Lay Catholic's Petition*," offered to his majesty for toleration of Popery, protesting likewise their fidelity and unfeigned love to his majesty, offering to be bound life for life with good sureties for their loyal behavior; happy men had we been to have taken their bonds, no doubt, for even at that instant, when this petition was exhibiting, the chief heads of those lay Catholics were then laboring with all their might to undermine the parliament house, to shake the pillars, and the whole frame of the kingdom to shivers.

And which is more, there is newly dispersed an idle discourse against an honorable personage of this land, by a papist that terms himself a Catholic divine, defending Garnet, the popish priest, saying there was nothing against him at his arraignment but only his acquaintance with the powder plot; which, saith he, being revealed unto him in auricular confession he might not therefore by the law and right of Catholic religion disclose or make known.

How like you these Catholics and this divinity? If they grow so bold and desperate in a mighty settled state, how much more dangerous in the birth and infancy of yours? Therefore, if you will live and prosper, harbor not this viperous brood in your bosom, which will eat out and consume the womb of their mother.

The third sort to avoid are evil affected magistrates, a plague that God himself complains of by the prophet Isaiah—"O my

people, they that lead thee, cause thee to error." Touching which, I am no way able to speak enough, for herein lies the very life of all. Let no partiality prefer them, unless they be worthy men; if they be papists or popishly minded; if profane atheists, contemning God and his word, turning religion to policy, unchaste, idle, ambitious, proud, and tyrannous, forgetting their allegiance to their king, and duty to their country, neglecting their commission of employment, advancing vile and vicious persons like themselves, and basely using those that are virtuous, godly, and well affected, then look for no blessing nor assistance of God, but misery, crosses, and confusions in all we take in hand; but in men of knowledge, and religious education there is ever found true humility, temperance, and justice, joined with confidence, valor, and noble courage, such as was in Moses, the man of God, whose justice exceeded and courage was incomparable, and yet the meekest man that went upon the earth. Ten of such will chase an hundred. No adversities can make them dispair. Their provident care will ever be to repulse injuries, repress the insolent, to encourage the painful and best minded, to employ the soul to some honest labors, and to relieve with mercy and commiseration the most feeble, weakest, and meanest member.

And as for the general sort that shall go to be planters, be they never so poor, so they be honest, and painful, the place will make them rich. All kind of artificers we must first employ are carpenters, shipwrights, masons, sawyers, brick-makers, bricklayers, plowmen, sowers, planters, fishermen, coopers, smiths, mettlemen, tailors, turners, and such like, to make and fit all necessities for comfort and use of the colony; and for such as are of no trades, if they be industrious, they shall have there employment enough, for there is a world of means to set many thousands to work, partly in such things as I mentioned before, and many other profitable works, for no man must live idle there.

And by this employment we may happily stop the course of those irregular youths of no religion, that daily run from us to Rome and Rhemes for exhibition, which after a little hammering and training there by Parsons and his imps, they become pliable for the impression of any villainy whatsoever, as appears by their positions and practices at home and abroad.

And hereby our mariners shall not lie idle, nor our owners sell their ships for want of freight. You know how many good ships are daily sold, and made away to foreign nations. How many men for want of employment betake themselves to Tunis, Spain, and Florence, and to serve in courses not warrantable, which would better beseem our own walls and borders to be spread with such branches, that their native country, and not foreign princes, might reap their fruit, as being both exquisite navigators, and resolute men for service, as any the world affords.

We intend to plant there, God willing, great plenty of sugar canes, for which the soil and climate is very apt and fit; also linseed and rape seed to make oils, which, because the soil is strong and cheap, may there be sowed and the oil made to great benefit. We must plant also oranges, lemons, almonds, anise seeds, rice, cumin, cotton wool, caraway seed, ginger, madder, olives, oris, sumach, and many such like, which I cannot now name, all very good merchandise, and will there grow and increase as well as in Italy or any other part of the straits, whence we fetch them now. And in searching the land there is undoubted hope of finding cochineal, the plant of rich indigo, grainberries, beaver hides, pearls, and rich treasure, and the south sea, leading to China, with many other benefits which our daylight will discover.

But of all other thing that God hath denied that country, there is want of sheep to make woollen cloth, and this want of cloth must always be supplied from England, whereby when the colony is thoroughly increased, and the Indians brought to our civility, as they will in a short time, it will cause a mighty vent of English clothes, a great benefit to our nation, and raising again of that ancient trade of clothing, so much decayed in England, whose lifting up again, methinks I see apparently approaching, by the good dispositions of our best sort of citizens, who willingly engage themselves to undertake all new discoveries, as into this of the West, and by the Northwest to find out China. And unto the East, beyond the cape, into the Red sea and the Gulf of Persia, the Straits of Sunda, and among all the kings of India, for the good and honor of our nation, which calls to mind a blind prophesy in one of the sibyl, that before the end of the world there would be a dis-

covery of all nations, which shall come to be known and acquainted together as one neighbor with another, which since confusion of tongues have lain obscure and hid.

But, however that be, yet these good minds and resolutions do serve for imitation to others, and do deserve assuredly the best encouragement, whereby we shall not still betake ourselves to small and little shipping, as we daily do begin, but shall rear again such merchant ships, both tall and stout, as no foreign sail that swims shall make them vail or stoop, whereby to make this little northern corner of the world to be in short time the richest storehouse and staple for merchandise in all Europe.

The second thing to make this plantation is money, to be raised among the adventurers, wherein the sooner and more deeply men engage themselves, their charge will be the shorter and their gain the greater, as in this last point which I have to speak for the good of each particular adventurer, I will make it plain.

First, you shall understand that his majesty has granted us an enlargement of our charter with many ample privileges, wherein we have knights and gentlemen of good place, named for the king's council of Virginia to govern us; as also every planter and adventurer shall be inserted in the patent by name. This ground being laid, we purpose presently to make supply of men, women, and children (so many as we can), to make the plantation. We call those "planters" that go in their persons to dwell there, and those "adventurers" that adventure their money and go not in person, and both do make the members of one colony. We do account twelve pounds ten shillings to be a single share adventured. Every ordinary man or woman, if they will go and dwell there, and every child above ten years that shall be carried thither to remain, shall be allowed for each of their persons a single share, as if they had adventured twelve pound ten shillings in money. Every extraordinary man, as divines, governors, ministers of state and justice, knights, gentlemen, physicians, and such as be men of worth for special services, are all to go as planters, and to execute their several functions in the colony, and are to be maintained at the common charge, and are to receive their dividend (as others do) at seven years' end, and they are to be agreed with

all before they go, and to be rated by the council according to the value of their persons, which shall be set down and registered in a book that it may always appear what people have gone to the plantation, at what time they went, and how their persons were valued ; and likewise, if any that go to be planters will lay down money to the treasurer, it shall be also registered and their shares enlarged accordingly, be it for more or less.

All charges of settling and maintaining the plantation, and of making supplies, shall be borne in joint stock of the adventurers of seven years after the date of our new enlargement, during which time there shall be no adventure, nor goods returned in private from thence, neither by master, mariner, planter, nor passenger, they shall be restrained by bond and search, that as we supply from hence to the planters at our charge all necessities for food and apparel for fortifying and building of houses in a joint stock, so they are also to return from thence the increase and fruits of their labors for the use and advancement of the same joint stock, till the end of seven years, at which time we purpose (God willing) to make a division by commissioners appointed, of all the lands granted unto us by his majesty to every of the colony according to each man's several adventure agreeing with our register book, which we doubt not will be for every share of twelve pound ten shilling, five hundred acres at least. Now, if any think that we shall be tied to a continual charge of making new supplies for seven years, let them concieve thus much, that if we do it thoroughly at the first, by engaging ourselves at once in furnishing many men and other means, assuredly after the second year the returns from thence will be able with an over-plus to make supplies at large, so that our purses shall be freed, and the over-plus of stock will also grow to greatness, which stock is also (as the land) to be divided equally at seven years' end or sooner, or so often as the company shall think fit for the greatness of it to make a dividend.

And as by this we shall be soon freed from charge and expense, so there grows a greater benefit to the planters (by bestowing their labors cheerfully), to make return of stock, for hereby the sooner they freeing us from disbursements, the more our shares and portions will be lessened in the dividend

of stock and land at seven years' end, whereby the less coming to us, the more will be to them, so that here is no discouragement any way if men will be capable to do themselves good. But if we will be so wise to linger, and to lie in the wind, to hear what news, to bring in our stock next year, and when we are behind for four or five adventures, we come dropping in with one or two and still run in arrearages for twice so much. (For I know many that would bring in stock amongst us, but they lie out to see what success first, and upon such like terms.) Is this gentlemanlike, or merchantlike? In truth it is paltry, and such as would bring all to naught, if we should be so minded too, and I tell you true, our single shares will make but a hungry plantation if we do not at the least double them now, and therefore I urge it the more, for that the very life of all is now in the beginning by making our supplies thoroughly, and thence will our gains arise both sooner and certain. Yet I grant that others may come in hereafter at any time, either to adventure his person or money, or both, but if there be spent one year of the seven before he comes in, or he that comes in with the first shall notwithstanding be a year behind in supplies, they shall be both alike shortened in a seventh part of the dividend both of stock and lands, and if two years behind, then shortened two sevenths, and if but six months, yet a fourteenth part, for every man is registered according to the time his money or person began to adventure, or made supply, so that they which come late get not the start of those that bore the first brunt of the business, and this will neither advantage him that withholds, or hinder him that is forward, for whatsoever falls from him that is slack, will be found of him that supplies in due time. But every man that comes in now in the first of these seven years, and shall afterwards upon all occasions perform in due time every twelve pound ten shillings so brought in shall be accounted an entire single share, and shall receive accordingly without abridgment, as it had been brought in when the enterprise first began and not otherwise.

And as for the division of lands at seven years' end, which, some may object will be little worth and unequally divided, let them understand that no man shall have his lot entirely in one place, to be all of the best or all of the worst, but each man shall have proportionately to his adventures, in three or

four distinct differences, that may be made in the goodness or badness of the grounds by commissioners equally chosen by the adventurers here and the planters there ; and as for the value and little worth now of those grounds in Virginia, we know that in England, within these thirty or forty years, the yearly rent of those grounds, in many places, was not worth five shillings, that now do go for forty or more.

And howsoever those grounds in Virginia are now but little worth indeed, yet time and means will make them better, considering how they pass our grounds in England, both in regard of the soil and climate, fit for many precious uses ; and also in how many several places we purpose to plant our colony, and not to bestow our costs upon Jamestown only, and upon the grounds lying thereabout, and let all the rest lie barren. For, seeing his majesty hath granted to our colony as much circuit of ground as all England almost, we purpose, God willing, if we may be supplied with sufficient means, to settle out of hand six or seven plantations more, all upon or near our main river, as capital towns, twenty miles each from other, and every plantation shall manure and husband the lands and grounds lying near unto it and allotted for the circuit thereof, and shall all endeavor for a joint stock, and shall be still supplied from hence with more money and provisions, and against any public injury shall be ready to unite and join themselves together. And by this means we shall come to have our dividend in lands of worth and well manured, which will be either bought or rented of us at a good value by the planters or by such as intend hereafter to inhabit there, as also by these several plantations, which happily one place better fitting than another, we shall bring forth more several sorts of merchandise, and be also better fortified ; and besides, the planters will be in such hope to have their own shares and habitations in those lands, which they have so husbanded, that it will cause contending and emulation among them, which shall bring forth the most profitable and beneficial fruits for the joint stock.

Whereby, undoubtedly, we shall be soon freed from further expense, our gains will grow, and our stock increase, we shall fell our timber, saw our plank, and quickly make good shipping there, and shall return from thence with good employment, an hundred sail of good ships yearly, all which good, and much

more, we shall withstand and bring ourselves into a labyrinth, if we pinch and spare our purses now. Therefore, not to hold you longer with many words (being near exchange time, as I take it), remember what I have said in proving my proposition, and take my conclusion in a word or two.

Seeing our provocations are so many, our cause and title good, avaunt all idle oracles that seek to bar us. The wisdom of the wisest saith in these cases, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might."

Our forefathers, not looking out in time, lost the prime and fairest proffer of the greatest wealth in the world, and we tax their omission for it, yet now it falls out that we, their children, are tried in the like, there being yet an excellent portion left, and by divine providence offered to our choice, which, seeing we have arms to embrace, let it not be accounted hereafter as "a prize in the hands of fools, that have no heart to use it."

The honor of our nation is now very great by his majesty's means, and we his subjects cannot enlarge and uphold it by gazing on and talking what hath been done, but by doing that good which may be commended hereafter. If we sit still and let slip occasions, we shall gather rust, and do unfeather our own wings, committing the folly of the wise Romans herein, that in time of their glory, flowing with the conquests and spoils of the world, and having gotten the goddess Victoria to Rome, they clipped her wings and set her up among the gods, that she might take her flight no more, as she had formerly done from the Grecians and others, and so effeminating their valor with idleness and security, it brought confusion and ruin to their state.

Let not such a prize of hopeful events, so lately purchased by the hazard of our valient men in the deep seas of foreign dangers, now perish in the haven by our neglect. The lives of our friends already planted, and of those noble knights and gentlemen that intend to go shortly, must lie at our mercy to be relieved and supplied by us or to be made a prey unto others, though we fear not the subjects of any prince in amity that they will offer wrong unto us. And howsoever we hear tales and rumors of this and that, yet be not dismayed, for I tell you, if we find that any miscreants have wronged or go about to hurt our few hundreds there, we shall be ready to

right it again with many thousands, like the giant Anteus, whose often foils renewed his strength the more.

And consider well that great work of freeing the poor Indians from the devourer, a compassion that every good man, but passing by, would show unto a beast. Their children, when they come to be saved, will bless the day when first their fathers saw your faces.

If those undaunted English and Scotch captains, that so often ventured their lives and spilt their blood to reconquer Palestine from the Turks and Saracens, had seen the gap so open in their days, and the way leading to so many goodly purchases, certainly it had not now been left for us to do. How strange a thing is this, that all the states in Europe have been asleep so long! That for an hundred years and more the wealth and riches of the East and West should run no other current but into one coffer, so long till the running over spread itself abundantly among a factious crew of new-created friars, and that to no more special end than with instigating bloody plots to pierce the heart of a christian state and true religion.

It is long since I read in a little treatise made by Frith, an English martyr, an excellent foretelling touching the happiness of these northern islands, and of great wonders that should be wrought by Scots and English before the coming of Christ, but I have almost forgotten and cannot readily call it to mind as I would, and therefore I omit it now, protesting unto you, it would be my grief and sorrow to be exempted from the company of so many honorable-minded men, and from this enterprise, tending to so many good ends, and than which, I truly think this day, there is not a work of more excellent hope under the sun, and far excelling, all circumstances weighed, those noble deeds of Alexander, Hercules, and those heathen monarchs, for which they were deemed gods among their posterity.

And so I leave it to your consideration, with a memorable note of Thomas Lord Howard, Earl of Surrey, when King Henry the Eighth, with his nobles at Dover, took shipping at Turin or Turney, and bidding the said earl farewell, whom he made governor in his absence. The story says the nobleman wept and took his leave with tears, an admirable good nature in a valient mind, grieving to be left behind his prince and peers in such an honorable service.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE LATE WAR, under the Command of COLONELS FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of the lake from Erie to Long Point; also the crossing of Niagara by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa, the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the author (then a captain) and their treatment; together with an historical account of the Canadas, by SAMUEL WHITE, of Adams County, Pennsylvania. Baltimore: Published by the Author. B. Edes, Printer; 1830.

Three hundred signed and numbered copies only of this scarce little book on the WAR OF 1812, printed from type, 1896. A copy will be mailed postpaid on receipt of price, \$1.00, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y.

Price 25 CENTS

Bound in Cloth

GEORGE P. HUMPHREY

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Successor to B. Edes, Printer, Baltimore, Md.

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER SEVEN

NOVEMBER 1897

THE NEW LIFE OF VIRGINIA: DECLARING THE FORMER SUCCESS AND PRESENT ESTATE OF THAT PLANTATION, BEING THE SECOND PART OF NOVA BRITANNIA. PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA. LONDON: IMPRINTED BY FELIX KYNGSTON, FOR WILLIAM WELBY, DWELLING AT THE SIGN OF THE SWAN, IN PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1612.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by

GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER

Foreign Agents GAY & BIRD London England

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for Europe and the Colonies. The number for December will contain "The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, in the years 1675 and 1676."

Recently Published.

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS; or the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with Useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER, of COOPERS-TOWN, to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: Printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street; 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction especially written for this new edition by James Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, a great-grandson of Judge Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

TRAVELS in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York, and Vermont. Journals of John Lincklaen, agent of the Holland Land Company. With a biographical sketch and notes.

8 vo.

\$2.00.

Five hundred copies, only, printed.

THE NEW LIFE
OF
VIRGINIA

Declaring the Former Success and Present Estate
of that Plantation, being the Second Part
of Nova Britannia.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF HIS MAJESTY'S
COUNSEL OF VIRGINIA.

LONDON:

Imprinted by FELIX KYNGSTON for WILLIAM WELBY, dwelling at
the Sign of the Swan, in Paul's Churchyard.

1612.

EPISTLE LITURGICAL

NO 7 NOVEMBER 1897

COLONIAL TRACTS

Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL AND WORTHY KNIGHT, SIR THOMAS SMITH OF LONDON, GOVERNOR OF THE MUSCOVIA AND EAST INDIA COMPANIES, ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S COUNSEL FOR VIRGINIA, AND TREASURER FOR THE COLONY ; PEACE AND HEALTH IN CHRIST.

IT is come to pass, right worshipful, with the business and plantation of Virginia, as it is commonly seen in the attempt and progress of all other most excellent things, which is, to be accompanied with manifold difficulties, crosses, and disasters, being such as are appointed by the highest Providence, as an exercise of patience, and other virtues, and to make more wise thereby the managers thereof ; by which occasion not only the ignorant and simple minded are much discouraged, but the malicious and looser sort (being accompanied with the licentious vaine of stage poets), have whet their tongues with scornful taunts against the action itself, insomuch as there is no common speech nor public name of anything this day (except it be the name of God), which is more vilely depraved, traduced, and derided by such unhallowed lips, than the name of Virginia. For which cause, right noble knight, I have set myself to publish this brief apology to the sight and view of all men, not to answer any such in their particular folly, but to free the name itself from the injurious scoffer, and this commendable enterprise from the scorn and derision of any such as by ignorance or malice have sought the way to wrong it. Which, albeit I am well assured, will no way avail to admonish or amend the incorrigible looseness of such untamed tongues, yet shall I hold mine endeavors well acquitted if I may but free yourself, and so many right noble and well affected gentlemen (touching the former ill success) from wrongful imputation, as also satisfy the despairing thoughts, and quicken the zeal of such friends and lovers to this business, as in their remote and foreign residence, by the spread-

ing of rumors and false reports, do rest unsatisfied. Wherein, as I hope, not to exceed the bounds of modesty and truth, so for order's sake I have set it down in a brief method of three parts. The first is nothing else but a brief relating of things already done and past; the second of the present estate of the business; and the third doth tend as a premonition to the planters and adventurers for the time to come.

And this I offer to the patronage of your worship alone, being the chiefest patron of this and of many more worthy services, wherein, I presume, not any way to counsel or direct your wisdom in your further proceedings, whom long experience in commonwealth affairs, besides that ability and wisdom of mind infused by God, hath made most able and sufficient of yourself to direct many others, but as wishing hereby, if I might in some measure, to ease the burthen of your mind, under the wise and painful managing of your many public actions, for which I pray that God will please to continue still your health and strength of body, with answerable success, to your honest, wise, and most approved desires.

R. I.

THE NEW LIFE OF VIRGINIA.

IN that most sacred history penned by the prophet Moses (the first historian that ever wrote and left his writings to posterity), it is recorded, that when the pride of earthly men in the race and progeny of Noah began to aspire and sought to climb the celestial throne, it so highly provoked the majesty of God that, consulting with the Deity and coming down by His word and almighty power, He subverted their devices and proud attempt, infatuating their understanding by confounding their tongues, and leaving each one to his several ways to follow the proneness and folly of his own heart, so that from this scattering and casting them out like unprofitable seed upon the dust of the earth, did spring up, as weeds in solitary places, such a barbarous and unfruitful race of mankind, that even to this day, as is very probable, many huge and spacious countries and corners of the world unknown do still swarm and abound with the innumerable languages of this dispersed crew, with their inhuman behavior and brutish conditions; and howsoever God, laying this heavy curse and punishment upon them, that for the space of three thousand years and more, did never vouchsafe the hand of the weeder to cleanse and give redress to so desolate and outgrown wilderness of human nature, yet such is His eternal purpose, who in His own appointed time doth rescue the brand from burning and the prey from the lion's teeth, that like as we ourselves and our forefathers (the first fruits of the Gentiles, who were all guilty of that great conspiracy), which were strangers from the commonwealth of Israel and lived long time without God in the world, were yet at length reduced home to that family of saints and sons of God, so now appeareth the same grace which God out of His secret counsel begins to extend and give to the remnants of those scattered Gentiles, our kinsmen and younger brethren, as I may say, the sundry nations

of America, which as they consist of infinite confused tongues and people, that sacrifice their children to serve the Devil, as those heathen did their sons and daughters to Molech,

Levit. xx. 7. yet who can doubt or say, but even amongst these

God may have His special numbers from whose necks He will now remove that heavy yoke of bondage ; and to that end it is to be observed, when after that great apostacy foretold by the Spirit of God, and which for many hundred years had almost drowned the Christian world in superstition and idolatry, God, that raised up her majesty, our late sovereign, and put into her heart, by wholesome laws, to wipe away that mist of popish dimness from our eyes, whereby we saw the light more clear, did likewise move her princely mind to proffer that light to this blind and miserable people, in giving the first encouragement by our English colonies to make plantation there, and according to herself and the condition of her sex, she named the country Virginia, which methinks should enforce from them that love the monuments of her never-dying memory, a fervent bond of zeal to that name and work of God, the ground whereof was laid by her, the happiness of whose reign was our unspeakable joy, and will be derived to our posterity.

And howsoever God pleased not to suffer the performance of that excellent work in her days (as He likewise denied King David, whose purpose and preparation was to have built a temple for the Lord), yet He raised up, like Solomon, the best and wisest among the sons of men to be our king, and hath bent his royal disposition, by many gracious privileges and giving his customs freely, to build this temple for the Lord, yea, many living temples for the honor of His name.

What shall we then say when thus the powers of heaven and earth encouraged the enterprise and stirred up the spirits of worthy men, not the basest, but of the best and most honorable minded in the kingdom, to engage themselves to solicit their friends to assemble and consult advisedly how to replant this unnatural vine to make it fruitful, when they looked to heaven they saw a promise, and looking to earthward they saw a blessing. And albeit in that infancy their numbers were but small, yet their willing resolution supplying that want, they made out three ships with Captain Newport for a discovery, who, within a few months, returned with relation of a country

discovered and seated like that pleasant land described by Moses, the stones whereof were brass and iron, whose mountains, valleys, and streams did all attend some good employment ; that they saw a poor people living there in the shadow of death, without light or sense of their own misery, and that there wanted nothing but industry and art to add to nature.

Upon which encouragement new supplies were made ; with expedition some few hundreds of our men were left there by Captain Newport, with all kinds of provisions and directions for the ground and foundation of a commonwealth. Their barbarous king Powhattan entertained them lovingly, and admitted them a large country to inhabit ; the poor savages brought them such relief as they had ; our own people wrote letters home in praise of the country and labored their friends to come thither, they began to fortify where they saw convenient, they built a church and many houses together, which they named Jamestown ; they nourished their swine, hens, and other provisions they carried out of England, which plentifully increased ; they cut down wood for wainscot, black walnut trees, spruce, cedar, and deal ; they got rich furs, dyeing stuff, minerals, and iron ore, which made excellent good iron ; they planted orange trees, corn, and sundry kinds of seeds ; they made soap ashes, and tar, with some sturgeon and caviare, and of each of these they sent us small quantities, with store of sassafras, and some wine of those country grapes for a trial ; all which being the work but of a small number, not fully settled, gave sufficient testimony what might be effected there by settling good government and sending more supplies of men and means to plant the soil and make discoveries.

This happy proceeding caused the action to be accounted as won, and caused so many willing minds to adventure their money, that there wanted not sufficient means to furnish out a fleet of nine good ships, with the better part of five hundred men to inhabit there ; Sir Thomas Gates being lieutenant-general, and Sir George Sommers, admiral of Virginia, both of them appointed by commission to reside in the country to govern the colony, which together set sail and departed the coast of England with a fair wind the first of June, 1609.

But who can withstand the counsel of God, that sits in the stern of all actions, and so directed this present fleet that

before they came near the coast of Virginia, the ship named the Sea Venture, being also admiral of the fleet, wherein were shipped the two knights before named and Captain Newport, with an hundred and fifty persons, was violently taken and carried with the rage of tempestuous storms, without hope or likelihood of life, at least an hundred leagues to the southward, till they arrived upon the desperate shore of the islands of Bermudas, where between two rocks the ship split in pieces, and yet, by the miraculous hand of God and industry of the captains, all the people escaped safe to land and not a man perished.

Of whose long abode and preservation in these broken deserts and of their strange and wonderful delivery thence, it is already related and published by Sir Thomas Gates, and so I return to the other eight ships, which, escaping the danger of seas, arrived at the port and landed their men in Virginia.

By which means the body of the plantation was now augmented with such numbers of irregular persons, that it soon became as so many members without a head, who as they were bad and evil affected for the most part before they went hence, so now being landed, and wanting restraint, they displayed their condition in all kind of looseness ; those chief and wisest guides among them (whereof there were not many) did nothing but bitterly contend who should be first to command the rest ; the common sort, as is ever seen in such cases, grow factious and disordered out of measure, insomuch as the poor colony seemed (like the college of English fugitives in Rome) as a hostile camp within itself, in which distemper that envious man stepped in, sowing plentiful tares in the hearts of all, which grew to such

Parsons letter
in the Quod-
libets.

speedy confusion that in few months ambition, sloth, and idleness had devoured the fruits of former labors, planting and sowing were clean given over, the houses decayed, the church fell to ruins, the store was spent, the cattle consumed, our people starved, and the poor Indians by wrongs and injuries were made our enemies, two of the ships returning home perished upon the point of Ushant, the rest of the fleet came ship after ship laden with nothing but bad reports and letters of discouragement ; and, which added the more to our cross, they brought us news that the admiral ship with the two knights and Captain Newport were missing, severed in a mighty storm outward, and

could not be heard of, which we therefore yielded as lost for many months together. And so that Virgin voyage (as I may term it), which went out smiling on her lovers with pleasant looks, after her weary travels, did thus return with a rent and disfigured face; for which how justly her friends took occasion of sorrow, and others to insult and scoff, let men of reason judge. And as for those wicked imps that put themselves a shipboard, not knowing otherwise how to live in England, or those ungracious sons that daily vexed their fathers' hearts at home, and were therefore thrust upon the voyage, which either writing thence or being returned back to cover their own lewdness, do fill men's ears with false reports of their miserable and perilous life in Virginia, let the imputation of misery be to their idleness, and the blood that was spilt upon their own heads that caused it.

And howsoever it is true, that upon these events many adventurers which had formerly well affected the business, when they saw such unexpected tragedies, withdrew themselves and their moneys from adventure. Notwithstanding it lessened much the preparations, yet it hindered not the resolution of the honorable lord (appointed lord governor), to go in his own person, who, together with the rest The Lord is Warre. of the adventurers assisting his setting forth, having in their wisdom rightly weighed, that to the desired end of all good actions in this life the way doth lie as well with rough and craggy steps as smooth and easy paths, did presently set on with three good ships, wherein the lord governor, attended with Sir Ferdinando Wainman and sundry others, set sail from the coast of England in the beginning of April, 1610, and on the ninth of June arrived safely at the disfortified fort in Virginia, where his lordship, finding their desperate condition so poor and mean, and so clear a consumption of all former employments, that scarcely the steps or print of twenty hundred groats disbursed, which had truly cost the adventurers here above twenty thousand pounds.

And thus we stood in state of merchants that had adventured much and lost all, in which case we might now make answer with King Alexander (having given away all to his captains), we had nothing left but hope, and this hope of ours we fixed much, if not too much, upon that honorable lord governor, then

landed in Virginia, who, as the world and ourselves knew right well to be religious and wise, of a strong body and valorous mind, and under his wings so confidently reposed the shield of our business that God, minding to make us know that our arm was yet but flesh, even in the front of his enterprise overthrew the nobleman by laying such a heavy hand of sickness and diseases upon him, that unable to weld and support the state of his own body, much less the affairs of the colony, he was forced with grief of heart, through the anguish and dolor of his malady, and for remedy to save his life, after eight months' sickness, to return for England again, which, when the adventurers saw that the expectance of such a preparation came to nothing, how great a damp of coldness it wrought in the hearts or all, may easily be deemed.

And yet had we left one spark of hope unquenched, for before we knew any such thing of his lordship's weakness, or once imagined his returning home, we had furnished out Sir Thomas Dale with a good supply of three ships, men, cattle, and many provisions; all which arrived safe at the colony the tenth of May, 1611. And notwithstanding the knight at his landing there found the lord governor to be gone, whereof he wrote us home most doleful letters, as also of the fewness, idleness, and weak estate wherein he found the colony; yet deciphered he the country in divers of his letters with admirable praise, giving us notice of his proceeding to fortify, to build, to plant, and that the health of our men was now recovered by setting them to labor, assuring the adventurers so long as he remained there their ships should never return empty;

his words are these: "But if anything otherwise

The words of
Sir Thomas
Dale's letter to
the commit-
tees.

'then well betide me in this business, let me commend unto your carefulness, the pursuit and dignity of this business, than which your purses and endeavors will never open nor travel in a more acceptable and meritorious enterprise; take four of the best kingdoms in christendom and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country either for commodities or goodness of soil.'" And this spark, I say, so kindled in the hearts of those constant adventurers that in the greatest disasters never fainted, which having passed over so many foul and weary steps and seeing now so fair a way before them, bent

all their wits and consultations how to second this good beginning of such a settled government. And after many meetings, when they could resolve upon no great supply for want of means, the discouragement of many being such by former ill success, yet in fine it was resolved, through the importunate zeal and forwardness of some, against the opinion of many, without delay to furnish out Sir Thomas Gates with six ships, three hundred men, and an hundred kine, with other cattle, munition and provisions of all sorts, which notwithstanding it grew so deep an engagement of our purses and credits, that for the present we knew not how to discharge it, yet assuredly it hath proved, as we hope, the most fortunate and happy step that ever our business took, and hath highly approved the wisdom and resolution of those worthy gentlemen that were the causers of it, and so at this period, as with a clear evening to a cloudy day, I will put an end to this my first part of relating things already done and past.

Lord General
Cecil, Sir Robert
Mansel,
and some
others.

The second part ensueth of the present estate of the business, upon which point I know that all men's ears are now most attent, for which I must be sparing to speak so much as might be said, for surely men will not believe (though nature daily show it in other courses), that in this case yet so great a tide of flowing should suddenly ensue so great an ebb of want; in last December Captain Newport in the *Starre*, and since that five other ships are arrived here from the colony, by which we know that Sir Thomas Gates with his six ships, men, and cattle safely arrived at Jamestown about the fine of August last; the sudden approach of such an unlooked for supply did so amaze our people, when the fort had first descried the fleet, and gave it out for enemies, that so soon as the news went up the river to Sir Thomas Dale, he, being a warlike and resolute captain, prepared him instantly and all the rest for an encounter, which by how much the sudden apprehension perplexed their minds for the present, yet so much the more exceeded their comfort when they knew them to be friends.

When they had all things well landed and given thanks to God, the knights and captains now began to frame the colony to a new conformity, whereof the lord governor at his being there most carefully had more than laid the ground before; their first and chiefest care was showed in settling laws divine and

moral, for the honor and service of God, for daily frequenting the church, the house of prayer, at the tolling of the bell, for preaching, catechizing, and the religious observation of the Sabbath day, for due reverence to the ministers of the Word, and to all superiors, for peace and love among themselves, and enforcing the idle to pains and honest labor, against blasphemy, contempt, and dishonor of God, against breach of the Sabbath by gaming, and otherwise against adultery, sacrilege, and felony, and in a word, against all wrongful dealing amongst themselves, or injurious violence against the Indians. Good are these beginnings, wherein God is thus before, good are these laws, and long may they stand in their due execution. But what is this, will some object, if wholesome lodging, clothing for the back, and bodily food be wanting, the belly be pinched with hunger cannot hear though your charm be otherwise never so sweet. All this was true; we have already confessed it, when there was nothing but a confused troop that sought their own consumption, *tempora mutantur*.

You shall know that our colony consisteth now of seven hundred men at least, of sundry arts and professions, some more or less; they stand in health, and few sick, at the ship coming thence, having left the fort at Cape Henry, fortified and kept by Captain Davies, and the keeping of Jamestown to that noble and well deserving gentleman, Master George Percie. The colony is removed up the river four-score miles further beyond Jamestown to a place of higher ground, strong and defensible by nature, a good air, wholesome and clear, unlike the marshy seat at Jamestown, with fresh and plenty of water springs, much fair and open grounds freed from woods, and wood enough at hand.

He went thither five years since in the first ship.

Being thus invited, here they pitch; the spade men fell to digging, the brick men burned their bricks, the company cut down wood, the carpenters fell to squaring out, the sawyers to sawing, the soldier to fortifying, and every man to somewhat. And to answer the first objection for wholesome lodging, here they have built competent and decent houses, the first story all of bricks, that every man may have his lodging and dwelling place apart by himself, with a sufficient quantity of ground allotted thereto for his orchard and garden to plant at his pleasure, and for his own use. Here they were building also an hospital

with fourscore lodgings, and beds already sent to furnish them, for the sick and lame, with keepers to attend them for their comfort and recovery. And as for their clothing, first of woollen (whereof they have least need, because the country is very warm), it is and must be always supplied from hence, to the benefit of English clothing; but for linen, which they shall most need, without doubt by small and easy industry there may amount a great increase from thence to furnish by way of merchandise for England, not only by planting hemp and flax, which that climate maketh far surpassing ours, both in growth and goodness, but by a new found stuff of a certain sedge or water flag (revealed unto them by an Indian), which groweth there naturally in endless abundance, and with little pains of boiling, it being gathered yieldeth great quantities of sundry sorts of skeins of good strength and length, some like silk and some a coarser sort, as hemp, whereof the last ships brought hither for a trial about two hundred pound weight, which being put to trial here (as many can witness which have seen it), will make cordage, linen, and fine stuffs both for strength and beauty, such as no use nor service can find the like of any other kind.

And for the last and main objection of food, it cannot be denied by any one of reason, but with their now diligent planting and sowing of corn, whereof they have two harvests in a summer, the plentiful fishing there, the store of fowls and fruits of the earth, their present provision sent from hence at every shipping, together with the speedy increase of those sundry sorts of tame poultry, conies, goats, swine, and kine landed there above a year ago with Sir Thomas Dale, and since again by Sir Thomas Gates, that this objection too, this main objection of wanting food is utterly removed, so that I cannot see, nor any man else can judge in truth, but that ill and odious wound of Virginia, which settled so deep a scar in the minds of many, is so sufficiently recovered as it may now encourage not such alone as heretofore, which cannot live at home, nor lay their bones to labor, but those of honest minds and better sort, which get their bread but meanly here, may seek to mend it there. Captain Samuel Argoll, a gentleman of good service, is ready with two ships.

The lord governor himself is now preparing to go in his own

person, and sundry other knights and gentlemen with ships and men, so far as our means will extend to furnish, and for preventing that wrong which some masters and stewards have formerly done to their passengers at sea, in shortening their allowance for their own private lucre, it is ordered that every ship upon her mast shall have it written what ought to be every day's allowance, that everyone may see it, and no man be defrauded. And thus much briefly for the present condition of this plantation.

Sir R. W.
Sir W. S.

It follows now to conclude with the third and last division directed to the colony. And first to you, the heads and guides of that plantation, it cannot be doubted, but as you are wise and provident men, you took this work in hand, forecasting wisely that the price thereof might be no less than the care of your minds, the labor of your bodies, and peril of your lives. And seeing you are sure of nothing more than the extremest lots, which either the barren coldness of such a naked action in the infancy thereof, or the malice of devilish men can cast upon you, arm yourselves therefore against all impediments, to effect those honorable ends that were first intended to be put upon our king, upon our nation, and Christian religion, by that plantation. If the work be more hard and difficult than you took it for, and that you must, like Hannibal (piercing the stony Alps), make clear the way to your desired ends with fire and vinegar, will not your honor be the greater, and your service more acceptable in the performance of it? Nay, if loss of life befall you by this service, which God forbid, yet in this case, too, we doubt not but you are resolved with constant courage, like that noble King Henry the Fifth before his triumphant victory in the fields of Agincourt, where seeing the fewness of his own, and multitude of enemies, like a valiant champion to stir up his little army against that great conflict. "Be cheered, my hearts," said he, "and let us fight like Englishmen, all England prayeth for us; if here we die, let this be our comfort, our cause is good, and we have fathers, brothers, friends, and countrymen that will revenge our deaths."

Your first conflict is from your savage enemies, the natives of the country, who, as you know, are neither strong nor many; their strongest forces are sleights and treachery, more to be warily prevented than much to be feared. But as for those,

your other friends, which challenge it all as theirs by deed of gift, not from Alexander, the great king of Macedonia, but from Alexander of Rome, viceroy of that great prince which offered at once the whole world to have himself adored, which, as is said, do bruit it out in all men's ears to pull you out of possession; you know they are but men, and such as yourselves can well remember that in all attempts against our late sovereign, God defeated their purposes, and brought them to nothing. But howsoever

Their wisdom
is such as they
will offer you
no wrong.

it fared then (God in mercy shielding that gracious queen, that no attempt could touch her little finger, nor work her least dishonor), yet I am no prophet to warrant now, but God, for causes known to Him, may give you as a prey into the hands of the weakest; yet herein rest assured, and it cannot possibly be otherwise, but that the zeal of this action hath discovered such and so many worthy spirits of all degrees in England to be upholders of it, as for their credit's sake and reputation, will never leave you without convenient means to make defense nor your least indignity by savage foes or civil friends will suffer unrequited. There is laid upon you in this work a threefold labor to be done upon yourselves, upon your English, and upon the poor Indians. And first upon yourselves, for all men's ears and eyes are so fixed upon kings and rulers that they keep a register in mind of whatever they do or speak, the better sort of love to imitate their goodness, and the looser sort of flattery to applaud their wickedness and soothe them in their vices. When your wholesome laws shall have no execution, when you shall publish and pretend for the honor of God and good of the public weal, and yet shall care for neither of both, but be loose in your own course of life, giving way to ambition, idleness, and all unbridled appetite, to your tongues in swearing, to your bodies in unchastity, making your own courts and houses cages of proud, unclean, and all disordered persons, enforcing the good to pine away with grief, and advancing men of bad deserts, accounting it happy to do what you list, when no man dares reprove you; misery and confusion will be the end of this, and you shall leave for your monuments shame and dishonor behind you to all posterity.

But if, like wise and prudent guides, as we do rightly esteem you, in rearing this great frame, you shall lay the foundation

in your own steps, and by your own example shall teach your inferiors the fear of God, and by your modest recreations and commendable labors shall lead them on to do the like, especially in that most wholesome, profitable, and pleasant work of planting in which it pleased God Himself to set the first man and most excellent creature Adam in his innocence, to which the best kings of Israel were most addicted, and by which so many kingdoms are much enriched, and for which the noble King Cyrus, that great monarch, is so much commended, whose glory was to all ambassadors and foreign states (notwithstanding his being a soldier and a conqueror of great employment), in showing the comely order of his own handiwork. When thus your light shall guide their feet, sweet will that harmony be between the head and members of the body ; then may sleep the rigor of your laws, and you shall resemble the best and wisest sort of kings, which, by the influence of their grace and love, do daily cure consumption, melancholy, and evil affected minds, as also make their hearts more honest and upright, and then that work, though burned as stubble heretofore, yet being thus grounded, shall abide, you shall live in honor and die in peace ; the succeeding ages of those converted infidels shall count you happy, and that precious seed which you have sown in tears, shall be as blessed sheaves upon your heads forever.

The next is duty towards your colony, the common sort of English, and that in few words ; let them live as free Englishmen, under the government of just and equal laws, and not as slaves after the will and lust of any superior ; discourage them not in growing religious, nor in gathering riches, two especial bonds (whether severed or conjoined), to keep them in obedience, the one for conscience's sake, the other for fear of losing what they have gotten ; without the first they are profane, without the second desperate, and apt for every factious plot to be instruments of mischief. Such have always been the beggarly, ignorant, and superstitious sort of Irish, and no better were we, our English and Scottish nation, too, ever unquiet, never constant, ready for insurrections and murder, to depose their kings, and maintain rebellion, before the days of that renowned Deborah, our late sovereign, that shining star, the splendor of whose brightness darkened the glory of all other princes in her time (as even popish historians of sundry foreign

nations term her), who brought us to that light whereby we live as men of knowledge in due subjection, enjoying honor, peace, and wealth, the handmaids of religion. We must confess as yet you are but poor, your company few, and your means unable to effect those ends in any great measure. But for the first step, you have some preachers there already, and more we intend to send you so soon as they may be provided. And for the second, the land is before you to dispose to every man for his house and ground, wherein to employ himself for his own benefit, that no man may live idle, nor unprofitable. And for their better encouragement in doing well, advance all such of best disposed life, and none but such ; and though your preferments be not great, nor your commonwealth settled, yet now is most need of these admonitions, for in the beginning and prime for your business, while you are but young and few, those succeeding enormities of bribery, drunkenness, and disordered life, may sooner be prevented, than having once got habit and footing amongst you they can be redressed ; for if, in laying now the groundwork of your business, you suffer it to be smothered up together with impunity of vices, as seeds and roots of noisome weeds, they will soon spring up to such corruption in all degrees as can never be weeded out.

For which sort
of men we
wish we had
better content
to give them,
or they were
more willing
for the service.

And for the poor Indians what shall I say ; but God, that hath many ways showed mercy to you, make you show mercy to them and theirs. And howsoever they may seem unto you so intolerable wicked and rooted in mischief, that they cannot be moved, yet consider rightly and be not discouraged, they are no worse than the nature of Gentiles, and even of those Gentiles so heinously deciphered by St. Paul to be full of wickedness, haters of God, doers of wrong, such as could never be appeased, and yet himself did live to see that by the fruits of his own labors many thousands even of them became true believing Christians, and of whose race and offspring consisteth well near the whole church of God at this day. This is the work that we first intended, and have published to the world to be chief in our thoughts, to bring those infidel people from the worship of devils to the service of God. And this is the knot that you must unite or cut asunder before you can conquer those sundry impediments

Romans i.

that will surely hinder all other proceedings, if this be not first preferred.

Take their children and train them up with gentleness, teach them our English tongue and the principles of religion ; win the elder sort by wisdom and discretion, make them equal with your English in case of protection, wealth, and habitation, doing justice on such as shall do them wrong. Weapons of war are needful, I grant, but for defence only, and not in this case. If you seek to gain this victory upon them by stratagem of war, you shall utterly lose it and never come near it, but shall make your names odious to all their posterity. Instead of iron and steel, you must have patience and humanity to manage their crooked nature to your form of civility ; for as our proverb is, Look how you win them, so you must wear them, if by way of peace and gentleness, then shall you always range them in love to you wards and in peace with your English people, and by proceeding in that way, shall open the springs of earthly benefits to them both, and of safety to yourselves.

Imitating the steps of your wise and prudent sovereign and preparing the way of peace, so much as lies in you, before the second coming of that King of peace, at whose first coming into this earthly region the world was all in peace, under the peaceable regiment of Augustus Cæsar, who, though an unbelieving heathen, yet of such excellent moral virtues as might set to school many Christian kings and rulers, whose care and study for the safety, peace, and commonwealth of his empire, gat him such honor in his life and love of all his subjects, that being dead his loss was so lamented with excess of grief and sorrow, but most among the Romans, that they wished to God he had never been born, or being born, he might never have died.

And so I come to you that be the adventurers here in England, with which I will conclude : it is not much above an hundred years ago that these adventures for discoveries were first undertaken by the southern parts of christendom, but especially so seconded and followed by the Spanish nation both to the East and West Indies, that Mendoza, their countryman, in his treatise of war, extolleth King Philip and the Spanish nation above the skies, for seeking in such sort to enlarge their bounds by sea and land, seeming, as it were, with a secret scorn, to set out the baseness of our English and other nations in this,

that they never intend any such attempts, but with a kind of sluggish contentment do account it their happiness to keep that poor little which they possess. Indeed we must acknowledge it, with praise to God, that when some of theirs had cast an evil eye upon our possessions, it was our happiness to prevent their longing, and to send them empty home. But for that other part of enlarging their bounds, in truth Ireland. their praise is duly given and well deserved, and it may justly serve to stir us up by all our means to put off such reproachful censures, and seeing when time did offer it, our nation lost the first opportunity of having all, yet now to make good that common speech that Englishmen are best at imitation and do soon excel their teachers.

It is known well enough to you what need we have in this case to stir up, if it were possible, our whole nation, for notwithstanding we have in our letters patent the names of many lords and knights, gentlemen, merchants, and others, able in truth to perform a greater matter than this, if we were all of one mind, but as they are many, so I may divide them as thus into three equal parts. The one-third part are such as took liking of the plantation, and brought in one adventure, expecting a while, till they saw some disasters to accompany the business, they looked for present gain, and so they gave it over, bidding it adieu, and never looked after it more. Another third part are such as came in, and with their own hands did underwrite to furnish three adventures in three years; whereof some few of them have paid the first payment, but refuse to pay the rest; yet most of them, notwithstanding they are tied by their own handwriting, whereby a very great charge was undertaken by the company, do utterly refuse to make any payment at all, which, if it proceeded out of their poverty, it were not so much to be blamed, for we press no man out of his inability, to wrong himself; but these are of the greater sort, such as would scorn to have it said they offer wrong in hazarding the loss of all and the lives of many men. I doubt not but some reasonable course will be taken by your honorable wisdoms to make them see their error; in the meantime, I know not how to call this kind of dealing. But I remember of one that takes upon him to describe King Richard usurper, and coming to his visage, he says it was stern, such as in kings we call

warlike, but in meaner men crabbed. Surely, if this kind of fast and loose were played by men of meaner sort, I could soon tell how to term it, but if you will needs have it warlike, in respect of their stern refusal, yet let it be crabbed, too, because of their sour looks when they see the collectors come for money.

So that of all our adventurers I may well say there is but one-third part which, to their praise, from the first undertaking to this day, have not ceased to give their counsels, spend their time, and lay down their money, omitting no occasion to express their zeal for effecting, if it may be possible, so great a work for their king and country's honor, as our nation never took the like in hand. And for this cause, the burthen being heavier than may well be borne by the shoulders of so few willing minds, we do still provoke our private friends, and have now obtained the help of public lotteries to maintain the same. Which, though it be no usual course in England, yet very common in divers neighbor countries, for the public service of most commendable actions, wherein no man being compelled to adventure lots further than his own liking, and being assured of direct and current dealing, though all his lots come blank ; yet if his mind be upright, he rests content in this, that his money goeth to a public work, wherein he hath his part of benefit, though he never so mean and remote in his dwelling.

And if any man ask what benefit can this plantation be to them that be no adventurers therein, but only in the lottery ? First, we say, setting aside their possibility of prize, what man so simple that doth not see the necessity of employment for our multitude of people ? which, though they be our flourishing fruits of peace and health, yet be they no longer good and wholesome in themselves, then either our domestic or foreign actions can make them profitable or not hurtful to the commonwealth.

And as it is impossible without this course of sending out the offspring of our families in so great a body of many millions, which yearly do increase amongst us, to prevent their manifold diseases of poverty, corruption of mind, and pestilent infection, so the burthen thereof in some proportion is felt by every man in his private calling, either in the tax of their maintenance and daily relief, or in the taint of their vices and bodily plagues. And by this means only it may soon be eased to the sensible

good of every man, as in the greater safety and freedom from infection, so in the price and plenty of all outward and necessary things.

And besides the example of our neighbor countries, that having laid their arms aside and dwelling now in peace, to shun the harms of idleness at home, do send out fleets and hosts of men to seek abroad, experience teacheth us what need we have to seek some world of new employment for so great a part of our strength, which, not otherwise knowing how to live, do daily run out to robberies at home, and piracies abroad, arming and serving with Turks and infidels against Christians, to the general damage and spoil of merchants, the scandal of our nation, and reproach of Christian name. As also for the wits of England, whereof so many of unsettled brains betake themselves to plots and stratagems at home, or else to wander from coast to coast, from England to Spain, to Italy, to Rome, and to wheresoever they may learn and practice anything else but goodness, pulling a world of temptations upon their bad dispositions, sorting so far with that enchanting sorts of serpents, and yielding to their lure, till, getting the mark and stamp in their forehead, they become desperate and despiteful fugitives abroad, or else returning, neutrals in religion, are never good for church nor commonwealth.

Let the words of that learned Master Ascham witness in this case, who above twenty years agone, having far less cause of complaint than we have now, did publish his censure of those English Italianate travelers in these words: "For religion, they 'get papistry, or worse; for learning, less com-
'monly than they carried out; for policy, a factious
'heart, a discoursing head, a mind to meddle in all
'men's matters; for experience, plenty of new mis-
'chiefs, never known in England before; for manners, variety
'of vanities, and change of filthy living. These be the enchant-
'ments of Circes, brought out of Italy to mar Englishmen's
'manners, much by example of ill life, but more by precepts of
'fond books of late translated out of Italian into English, sold
'in every shop in London, commended by honest titles, the
'sooner to corrupt honest manners, dedicated over boldly to
'virtuous and honorable personages, the easier to beguile simple
'and innocent wits. Ten sermons at Paul's cross do not so

24 page of
teaching the
bringing up of
youth.

' much good for moving men to true doctrine, as one of those
' books do harm with enticing men to ill living ; yea, I say
' further, those books tend not so much to corrupt honest living
' as they do to subvert true religion ; more papists made by the
' merry books of Italy than by the earnest books of Lovaine."

These and many more are the flowing evils of those noisome streams, that may be stopped or turned from us, though not altogether, which is impossible, yet in some proportion, for the common good of every man, by these new discoveries, into so great a world, never yet known, nor inhabited by Christian men ; and though that part of Virginia wherein we seat be nothing to the rest not yet discovered, yet it is enough to men of sense rightly considering, to make them confess so much as I have said.

If any shall object, want of means, or inability for the subjects of our king to undertake so great a work in those remote and desert countries, it were too injurious ; for first, it hath been done by others, to whom we are in no way inferior for multitude, strength, and means to do the like ; and secondly, our provocations are now more than ever they were. For touching our multitude of men, as I remember, and I assure myself I did see the note, and am not mistaken, in that great year of '88, here was billed for the first, second, and third service of the queen, if need had required, of able persons, thirty hundred thousand of English, Welsh, and Cornish men, since which time it cannot otherwise be thought, and the great enlargement of towns and buildings show that we have much increased, besides that happy addition since of an entire kingdom, being a warlike, wise, and a stout nation, that were then no members of us. And for strength of shipping, skillful men and means to furnish greater attempts than this, the world can witness, to the grief of some, that England hath no want at all. And for our provocations, what can be greater than from the highest ? from God that hath given us the light of His word, that we might enlighten this blind people ; that did provide when we despaired greatly and feared who should wield the scepter, a king, with peerless branches, to sit over us in peace, whom the world cannot match, that hath bent his royal mind, and of his princely offspring to forward and advance the best and most approved

In Scotland
and England,
too.

actions at home and abroad, that hath given him to set his feet upon his enemies' necks, and hath made the poison of their infected* hearts to work their own confusion, and the most bitter-hearted adversary to die for sorrow to see his prosperity ; by which we are assured that God doth reserve him to many excellent ends, and by whose wisdom we are daily invited under the shadow of our own vine to repose ourselves in peace and rest.

How are they thus dejected then in their honorable thoughts, so many, both Englishmen and Scottish, which seem not like themselves, that to so infinite good ends, and notwithstanding the forcible enticements and powerful means to effect the same, will yet sit still and neither help on this nor any like public action with their persons, purse, nor counsel ? How far is this unlike their ancient guise in former times, when for the name of Christ and honor of their nations they adventured through the world to win it with the sword ? Well, if they will needs so much forget themselves, let this suffice to conclude them as unprofitable members, emptying and keeping dry the fountain at home, when with others they might seek to fill it from abroad, suffering the wealth of the world, of this new world, which is known to abound in treasure, if not to sleep in the dust, yet to slide away, and there to settle, where it reviveth the spirit of that viperous brood which seek to heal again that wounded head of Rome, by instigating therewith and anointing the horns of such, as when time shall serve will seek to pierce our hearts.

* The powder men. Parsons, etc.

The English Jesuits and others.

And if it be asked what benefit shall any man reap in lieu of his disbursements by that barren country, which hath so consumed all our employments ? It hath been already declared to the world in sundry discourses, containing sufficient encouragement to men of understanding, and therefore not needful here to lay out again, the undoubted certainty of minerals, the rich and commodious means for shipping, and other materials of great use, which, if they were not already published, we would utterly forbear to name, till, after the plantation settled, the effects and fruits should show themselves. And besides all which things that nature hath already seated there, the soil and climate is so apt and fit for industrious minds to make plantation of so many pretentious plants as hath been likewise

shown in particular, for the use of mankind and trade of merchandise, as to the sense and reason of such as have seen it, no country under heaven can go beyond it.

And so to end with this that has been said, which, if it may suffice to satisfy the ignorant, to stop the mouths of cavers, and to stir up more assistance to this enterprise, it is enough ; if not, I do not doubt but God, who effecteth oft the greatest ends by smallest means, and hath so far blessed those few hands as to procure this birth, will likewise still assist the same to bring it up with honor. Proceed therefore, you noble lords, and you wise religious gentlemen, in your constant resolution, and in your daily prayers remember it, for this work is of such consequence, as for many important reasons, it must never be forsaken.

And as you have not shrunk away, with many such of worse condition, which, before they see it effected by others, will never adventure anything, but like that worthy Roman Scipio, preserver of his country, which, when all the Romans in that sudden fear of Hannibal's approach threw up their arms to take themselves to flight, drew out his sword, and stayed their running out, and ruin of the city, have in your own persons with exceeding pains, adventured in the most desperate condition thereof to keep the work from ruin, and have set it in that hopeful way to subsist of itself, as whether you live or no to see the fruits thereof on earth, yet your reward shall be with God, and for example to posterity, in being the first props and pillars of the work, the records of time shall publish your praise, not stained with lies as the legends of saints, but as those renowned deeds of your noble ancestors, truly set out in our English stories, still living, as it were, and reaching out the hand, speaking to them that follow after, and telling to such as shall succeed, this is the way for the honor of your king and your country's good.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE
LATE WAR, under the Command of COLONELS
MONTGOMERY and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of
the lake from Erie to Long Point; also the crossing of Niagara
by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and
Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa,
the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the
author (then a captain), and their treatment; together with an
historical account of the Canadas, by SAMUEL WHITE, of
Adams County, Pennsylvania. Baltimore: Published by the
Author. B. Edes, Printer; 1830.

Three hundred signed and numbered copies only of this
scarce little book on the WAR OF 1812, printed from type,
1896. A copy will be mailed postpaid on receipt of price,
\$1.00, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange
Street, Rochester, N. Y.

GEORGE P. HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER EIGHT

DECEMBER 1897

THE BEGINNING, PROGRESS, AND
CONCLUSION OF BACON'S RE-
BELLION IN VIRGINIA, IN THE YEARS
1675 AND 1676.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by

GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER

Foreign Agents GAY & BIRD London England

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for Europe and the Colonies. The number for January will contain: (I.) "An account of our late troubles in Virginia, written in 1676 by Mrs. Ann Cotton of Q. Creek. Published from the original manuscript, in the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer* of 12th September, 1804." (II.) "A list of those who have been executed for the late rebellion in Virginia, by Sir William Berkeley, governor of the colony."

Recently Issued.

HISTORIC NEW YORK—The Half Moon Series. Edited by Maud Wilder Goodwin, Alice Carrington Royce, and Ruth Putnam. Illustrated, 8vo, gilt top. \$2.50

CONTENTS.

Fort Amsterdam. By Maud Wilder Goodwin.	Old Wells and Water-Courses. Part II. By George Everett Hill and George E. Waring, Jr.
The Stadt Huys of New Amsterdam. By Alice Morse Earle.	Old Greenwich. By Elizabeth Bisland.
Wall Street. By Oswald Garrison Villard.	The Fourteen Miles Round. By Alfred Bishop Mason and Mary Murdock Mason.
Annetje Jan's Farm. By Ruth Putnam.	King's College. By John B. Pine.
The City Chest of New Amsterdam. By E. Dana Durand.	The Bowery. By Edward Ringwood Hewitt and Mary Ashley Hewitt.
Old Wells and Water-Courses. Part I. By George Everett Hill and George E. Waring, Jr.	Governor's Island. By Blanche Wilder Bellamy.

THE BEGINNING,
PROGRESS, AND CONCLUSION
OF
BACON'S REBELLION
IN
VIRGINIA,
IN THE YEARS 1675 AND 1676.

INTRODUCTION

NO 8 DECEMBER 1897

COLONIAL TRACTS

Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

INTRODUCTION.

THIS tract was first printed in the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer*, of the first, fifth, and eighth of September, 1804, from an exact copy of the original manuscript, made by Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, and was accompanied by the following introductory notice, addressed to the editor :

“ To the Editor of the Enquirer :

“ The original manuscript, of which the small volume now sent you is a copy, was transmitted to the President of the United States by Mr. King, our late minister plenipotentiary at the court of London, in a letter of December 20, 1803. It was purchased by Mr. King at the sale of the stock of one Collins, a bookseller in London, and when received by the President, was carefully copied by him, and with his own hand. The pages and lines of the copy correspond with those of the original. The orthography, abbreviations, punctuation, and even interlineations are preserved, so that it is a facsimile, except as to the forms of the letters. The two first are evidences of the age of the writing.

“ This copy was lately sent, as a curious and interesting historical document, by the President to his venerable friend, Mr. Wythe, with a permission to the bearer to communicate its contents to the public.

“ The transaction recorded in this manuscript, although of little extent or consequence, is yet marked in the history of Virginia, as having been the only rebellion which took place in the colony during the 168 years of its existence, preceding the American Revolution, and one hundred years exactly before that event.

“ The rebellion of Bacon, as it is improperly called, has been little understood, its cause and course being imperfectly explained by any authentic document hitherto possessed. This renders the present narrative of real value. It appears to have been written thirty years after the event took place, by a person intimately acquainted with its origin, progress,

‘ and conclusion. It was written, too, not for the public eye, but in compliance with the wish or curiosity of a British minister, Lord Oxford. The candor and simplicity of the narrative cannot fail to command belief.

“ On the outside of the cover of the original manuscript are the numbers 3947 and 5781. Very possibly the one may indicate the place it held in Lord Oxford’s library, and the other its number on the catalogue of the bookseller, into whose hands it came before Mr. King became the purchaser.

“ The author says of himself that he was a planter, that he lived in Northumberland, but was elected a member of assembly in 1676, for the county of Stafford, Colonel Mason being his colleague, of which assembly Colonel Warner was speaker ; that it was the first and should be the last time of his meddling with public affairs, and he subscribes the initials of his name T. M. Whether the records of the time, if they still exist, with the aid of these circumstances, will show what his name was, remains for further enquiry.

“ If this little book speaks the truth, Nathaniel Bacon will be no longer regarded as a rebel, but as a patriot. His name will be rescued from the infamy which has adhered to it for more than a century ; the stigma of corruption, cruelty, and treachery will be fixed on the administration by which he was condemned ; and one more case will be added to those which prove that insurrections proceed oftener from the misconduct of those in power than from the factious and turbulent temper of the people.”

To the Right Honorable Robert Harley, Esquire, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, and one of Her Most Honorable Privy Council.

Sir:

THE great honor of your command, obliging my pen to step aside from its habitual element of figures into this little treatise of history, which, having never before experienced, I am like *Sutor ultra crepidam*, and therefore dare pretend no more than nakedly to recount matters of fact.

Beseeching, your honor will vouchsafe to allow that, in thirty years, divers occurrences are lapsed out of mind, and others imperfectly retained.

So as the most solemn obedience can be now paid, is to pursue the tract of bare-faced truths, as close as my memory can recollect to have seen or believed, from credible friends, with concurring circumstances.

And whatsoever your celebrated wisdom shall find amiss in the composure, my entire dependence is upon your candor favorably to accept these most sincere endeavors of

Your Honor's

Most devoted humble servant,

T. M.

July 13, 1705.

VOL I COLONIAL TRACTS NO 8

THE BEGINNING, PROGRESS, AND CONCLUSION OF BACON'S REBELLION IN VIRGINIA, IN THE YEARS 1675 AND 1676.

ABOUT the year 1675, appeared three prodigies in that country which, from the attending disasters, were looked upon as ominous presages.

The one was a large comet, every evening for a week or more, at southwest, thirty-five degrees high, streaming like a horse's tail, westward, until it reached almost the horizon, and setting towards the northwest.

Another was flights of pigeons, in breadth nigh a quarter of the mid-hemisphere, and of their length there was no visible end—whose weight broke down the limbs of large trees, whereon these rested at night, of which the fowlers shot abundance and ate them. This sight put the old planters under the more portentous apprehensions, because the like was seen, as they said, in 1640, when the Indians committed the last massacre, but not after, until that present year 1675.

The third strange appearance was swarms of flies, about an inch long and as big as the top of a man's little finger, rising out of spigot holes in the earth, which would eat the new sprouted leaves from the tops of the trees without doing any other harm, and in a month left us.

My dwelling was in Northumberland, the lowest county on the Potomac river, Stafford being the upmost, where, having also a plantation, servants, cattle, etc., my overseer there had agreed with one Robert Hen to come thither and be my herdsman, who then lived ten miles above it. But on a Sabbath day morning in the summer of the year 1675, people on their way to church saw this Hen lying athwart his threshold, and an Indian without the door, both chopped on their heads, arms, and other parts, as if done with Indian hatchets. The Indian

was dead, but Hen, when asked who did that, answered: "Doegs, Doegs," and soon died; then a boy came out from under a bed, where he had hid himself, and told them Indians had come at break of day and done those murders.

From this Englishman's blood did, by degrees, arise Bacon's rebellion, with the following mischiefs, which overspread all Virginia and twice endangered Maryland, as by the ensuing account is evident.

Of this horrid action, Colonel Mason, who commanded the militia regiment of foot, and Captain Brent, the troop of horse of that county (both dwelling six or eight miles downwards), having speedy notice, raised thirty or more men, and pursued those Indians twenty miles up and four miles over that river into Maryland, where, landing at dawn of day, they found two small paths. Each leader with his party took a separate path, and in less than a furlong either found a cabin, which they silently surrounded. Captain Brent went to the Doegs' cabin, as it proved to be, who, speaking the Indian tongue, called to have a "matchacomicha, weewhio," i. e., a council, called presently, such being the usual manner with Indians. The king came trembling forth, and would have fled, when Captain Brent, catching hold of his twisted lock (which was all the hair he wore) told him he was come for the murderer of Robert Hen. The king pleaded ignorance and slipped loose, whom Brent shot dead with his pistol. The Indians shot two or three guns out of the cabin, the English shot into it, the Indians thronged out at the door and fled; the English shot as many as they could, so that they killed ten, as Captain Brent told me, and brought away the king's son of about eight years old, concerning whom is an observable passage, at the end of this expedition. The noise of this shooting awakened the Indians in the cabin, which Colonel Mason had encompassed, who likewise rushed out and fled, of whom his company, supposing from that noise of shooting Brent's party to be engaged, shot (as the colonel informed me) fourteen before an Indian came, who with both hands shook him friendly by one arm saying, "Susquehanoughs netoughs," i. e., "Susquehanough friends," and fled, whereupon he ran amongst his men crying out, "For the Lord's sake, shoot no 'more, these are our friends, the Susquehanoughs."

This unhappy scene ended, Colonel Mason took the king of the Doegs' son home with him, who lay ten days in bed, as one dead, with eyes and mouth shut, no breath discerned; but his body continuing warm, they believed him yet alive. The more-named Captain Brent, a papist, coming thither on a visit, and seeing his little prisoner thus languishing, said, "Perhaps he 'is pawewawd," i. e., bewitched, and that he had heard baptism was an effectual remedy against witchcraft; wherefore he advised to baptize him. Colonel Mason answered, "No minister could be had in many miles." Brent replied, "Your clerk, Mr. Dobson, may do that office," which was done by the church of England liturgy; Colonel Mason, with Captain Brent, godfather, and Mrs. Mason, godmother, my overseer, Mr. Pimet, being present, from whom I first heard it, and which all the other persons afterwards affirmed to me. The four men returned to drinking punch, but Mrs. Mason staying and looking on the child, it opened its eyes, and breathed, whereat she ran for a cordial, which he took from a spoon, gaping for more, and so by degrees recovered, though before his baptism they had often tried the same means, but could not, by any endeavors, wrench open his teeth.

This was taken for a convincing proof against infidelity.

But to return from this digression, the Susquehanoughs were newly driven from their habitations, at the head of Chesapeake bay, by the Seneca Indians, down to the head of the Potomac, where they sought protection under the Pascataway Indians, who had a fort near the head of that river, and also were our friends.

After this unfortunate exploit of Mason and Brent, one or two being killed in Stafford, boats of war were equipped to prevent excursions over the river; and at the same time murders being likewise committed in Maryland, by whom not known, on either side of the river, both countries raised their quotas of a thousand men, upon whose coming before the fort, the Indians sent out four of their great men, who asked the reason of that hostile appearance. What they said more or offered, I do not remember to have heard, but our two commanders caused them to be instantly slain, after which the Indians made an obstinate resistance, shooting many of our men, and making frequent, fierce, and bloody sallies, and when they were called to or

offered parley, they gave no other answer, than, "Where are 'our four cockarouses?'" i. e., great men.

At the end of six weeks, marched out seventy-five Indians, with their women, children, etc., who, by moonlight passed our guards, hallooing and firing at them without opposition, leaving three or four decrepits in the fort.

The next morning the English followed, but could not or, for fear of ambuscades, would not overtake these desperate fugitives. The number we lost in that siege I did not hear was published.

The walls of this fort were high banks of earth, with flankers, having many loop-holes, and a ditch around all, and without this a row of tall trees fastened three feet deep in the earth, their bodies from five to eight inches in diameter, wattled six inches apart to shoot through, with the tops twisted together, and also artificially wrought, so that our men could make no breach to storm it; nor, being low land, could they undermine it by reason of water, neither had they cannon to batter it, so that it was not taken until famine drove the Indians out of it.

These escaped Indians, forsaking Maryland, took their route over the head of that river, and thence over the heads of Rappahannock and York rivers, killing whom they found of the upmost plantations, until they came to the head of James river, where, with Bacon and others, they slew Mr. Bacon's overseer, whom he much loved, and one of his servants, whose blood he vowed to revenge if possible.

In these frightful times the most exposed small families withdrew into our houses of better numbers, which we fortified with palisades and redoubts. Neighbors in bodies joined their labors from each plantation to others alternately, taking their arms into the fields, and setting sentinels. No man stirred out of doors unarmed. Indians were, ever and anon, espied, three, four, five, or six in a party, lurking throughout the whole land; yet, what was remarkable, I rarely heard of any houses burnt, though abundance were forsaken, nor ever of any corn or tobacco cut up, or other injury done, besides murders, except the killing of a very few cattle and swine.

Frequent complaints of bloodshed were sent to Sir William Berkeley, then governor, from the heads of the rivers, which were often answered with promises of assistance.

These at the heads of James and York rivers (having now most people destroyed by the Indians' flight thither from Poto-mac) grew impatient at the many slaughters of their neighbors, and rose for their own defense, who, choosing Mr. Bacon for their leader, sent oftentimes to the governor, humbly beseeching a commission to go against those Indians at their own charge, which his honor as often promised but did not send. The mysteries of these delays were wondered at, and which I never heard that any one could penetrate into, other than the effects of his passion, and a new (not to be mentioned) occasion of avarice, to both which he was, by the common vogue, more than a little addicted, whatever were the popular surmises and murmurings: viz., "that no bullets would pierce 'beaver skins;'" "rebel forfeitures would be loyal inheritances," etc.

During these protractions and people often slain, most or all the officers, civil and military, with as many dwellers next the heads of the rivers as made up three hundred men, taking Mr. Bacon for their commander, met and concerted together the danger of going without a commission, on the one part, and the continual murders of their neighbors on the other part (not knowing whose or how many of their own turns might be next), and came to this resolution; viz., to prepare themselves with necessaries for a march, but interim to send again for a commission, which, if it could or could not be obtained by a certain day, they would proceed, commission or no commission.

This day lapsing and no commission having come, they marched into the wilderness in quest of these Indians; after them the governor sent his proclamation, denouncing all as rebels who should not return within a limited day, whereupon those of estates obeyed, but Mr. Bacon with fifty-seven men proceeded until their provisions were near spent without finding enemies, when, coming nigh a fort of friendly Indians on the other side of a branch of James river, they desired relief, offering payment, which these Indians kindly promised to help them with on the morrow, but put them off with promises until the third day, so, as having then eaten their last morsel, they could not return, but must have starved in the way homeward. And now it was suspected that these Indians had received private messages from the governor, and that such were the cause of

these delusive procrastinations, whereupon, the English waded **shoulder** deep through that branch to the fort palisades, still entreating, and tendering pay for victuals. But that evening a shot from the place they left on the other side of that branch killed one of Mr. Bacon's men, which made them believe those **in** the fort had sent for other Indians to come behind them and cut them off. Whereupon they fired the palisades, stormed and burned the fort and cabins, and, with the loss of three English, slew one hundred and fifty Indians.

The circumstances of this expedition Mr. Bacon entertained me with, at his own chamber, on a visit I made him, the **occasion** whereof is hereafter mentioned.

From thence they returned home, where writs were come up to elect members for an assembly, when Mr. Bacon was unanimously chosen for one. On coming down the river he was commanded by a ship with guns to come on board, where waited Major Hone, the high sheriff of Jamestown, ready to seize him, by whom he was carried down to the governor, and by him received with a surprising civility in the following words: "Mr. Bacon, have you forgot to be a gentleman?" "No, 'may it please your honor,'" answered Mr. Bacon. Then replied the governor, "I'll take your parol," and gave him his liberty.

In March, 1675-6, writs came up to Stafford to choose their two members for an assembly to meet in May, when Colonel Mason, Captain Brent, and other gentlemen of that county, invited me to stand a candidate; a matter I little dreamt of, having never had inclinations to tamper in the precarious intrigues of government, and my hands being full of my own business. They presented several cogent arguments, and I, having considerable debts in that county, besides my plantation concerns, where in one and the other I had much more severely suffered than any of themselves by the Indian disturbances in the summer and winter foregoing, I held it then not discreet to disoblige the rulers of it; so Colonel Mason with myself were elected without objection. He, at time convenient, went on horseback; I took my sloop. And the morning I arrived at Jamestown, after a week's voyage, I was welcomed with the **strange** acclamation of "All's over, Bacon is taken;" having not heard at home of the southern commotions, other than

rumors like idle tales, of one Bacon risen up in rebellion, nobody knew for what, concerning the Indians.

The next forenoon, the assembly being met in a chamber over the general court and our speaker chosen, the governor sent for us down, where his honor, with a pathetic emphasis, made a short, abrupt speech wherein were these words: "If 'they had killed my grandfather and grandmother, my father and mother, and all my friends, yet if they had come to treat 'of peace, they ought to have gone in peace and sat down."

The two chief commanders at the forementioned siege, who slew the four Indian great men, being present and part of our assembly.

The governor stood up again and said, "If there be joy in 'the presence of angels over one sinner that repenteth, there 'is joy now, for we have a penitent sinner come before us; 'call Mr. Bacon." Then did Mr. Bacon, upon one knee, at the bar, deliver a sheet of paper confessing his crimes, and begging pardon of God, the king, and the governor, whereto (after a short pause) the latter answered, "God forgive you, I 'forgive you," thrice repeating the same words; when Colonel Cole, one of the council, said, "And all that were with him." "Yea," said the governor, "and all that were with him;" twenty or more persons being then in irons who were taken coming down in the same and other vessels with Mr. Bacon.

About a minute after this the governor, starting up from his chair a third time said, "Mr. Bacon! if you will live civilly 'but till next quarter court [doubling the words], but till next 'quarter court, I'll promise to restore you again to your place 'there," pointing with his hand to Mr. Bacon's seat, he having been of the council before these troubles, though he had been a very short time in Virginia, but was deposed by the aforesaid proclamation; and in the afternoon, passing by the court door in my way up to our chamber, I saw Mr. Bacon in his quondam seat with the governor and council, which seemed a marvelous indulgence to one whom he had so lately proscribed as a rebel.

The governor had directed us to consider of means for security from the Indian insults and to defray the charge, etc., advising us to beware of two rogues amongst us, naming

Lawrence and Drumond, both dwelling at Jamestown, and who were not at the Pascataway siege.

But at our entrance upon business, some gentlemen took this opportunity to endeavor the redressing several grievances the country then labored under. Motions were made for inspecting the public revenues, the collector's accounts, etc., and so far proceeded as to name part of a committee, whereof Mr. Bristol (now in London) was one and myself another, when we were interrupted by pressing messages from the governor to meddle with nothing until the Indian business was dispatched.

This debate rose high, but was overruled, and I have not heard that those inspections have since then been insisted upon, though such of that indigent people as had no benefits from the taxes groaned under our being thus overborne.

The next thing was a committee for the Indian affairs, whereof, in appointing the members, I myself was unwillingly nominated, having no knowledge in martial preparations; and, after our names were taken, some of the house moved for sending two of our members to entreat the governor that he would please to assign two of his council to sit with and assist us in our debates, as had been usual.

When seeing all silent, looking each at other with many discontented faces, I ventured to offer my humble opinion to the speaker "for the committee to form methods as agreeable to the sense of the house as we could, and report them, whereby they would more clearly see on what points to give the governor and council that trouble, if perhaps it might be needful."

These few words raised an uproar, one party urging hard, that it had been customary and ought not to be omitted; whereto Mr. Presly, my neighbor, an old assembly man, sitting next me, rose up, and, in a blundering manner, replied; "'Tis true, it has been customary, but if we have any bad customs amongst us, we are come here to mend them," which set the house in a laughter.

This was huddled off without coming to a vote, and so the committee must submit to be overawed, and have every carped-at expression carried straight to the governor.

Our committee being set, the Queen of Pamunky (descend-

ed from Oppechankenough, a former emperor of Virginia), was introduced, who entered the chamber with a comportment graceful to admiration, bringing on her right hand an English interpreter, and on the left her son, a stripling twenty years of age, she having round her head a plait of black and white wampum peague three inches broad, in imitation of a crown, and being clothed in a mantle of dressed deer skins with the hair outwards and the edge cut round six inches deep, which made strings resembling twisted fringe from the shoulders to the feet. Thus, with grave, courtlike gestures and a majestic air on her face, she walked up our long room to the lower end of the table, where after a few entreaties she sat down, the interpreter and her son standing by her on either side as they had walked up. Our chairman asked her what men she would lend us for guides in the wilderness and to assist us against our enemy Indians. She spake to the interpreter to inform her what the chairman said (though we believed she understood him). He told us she bade him ask her son, to whom the English tongue was familiar, and who was reputed the son of an English colonel; yet neither would he speak to or seem to understand the chairman; but the interpreter told us he referred all to his mother, who, being again urged, she, after a little musing, with an earnest, passionate countenance, as if tears were ready to gush out, and a fervent sort of expression, made a harangue of about a quarter of an hour, often interlacing (with a high, shrill voice and vehement passion) these words, "Tatapatomoi 'Chepiack," i. e., "Tatapatomoi dead." Colonel Hill, being next me, shook his head. I asked him what was the matter. He told me all she said was too true, to our shame, and that his father was general in that battle, where divers years before Tatapatamoi, her husband, had led a hundred of his Indians in help to the English against our former enemy Indians, and was there slain with most of his men; for which no compensation at all had been to that day rendered to her; wherewith she now upbraided us.

Her discourse ending, and our morose chairman not advancing one cold word toward assuaging the anger and grief her speech and demeanor manifested under her oppression, nor taking any notice of all she had said, neither considering that we then were in our great exigency, supplicants to her for a

favor of the same kind as the former, for which we did not deny the having been so ingrate, he rudely pushed again the same question, "What Indians will you now contribute?" etc. Of this disregard she signified her resentment by a disdainful aspect, and turning her head half aside, sat mute, till that same question being pressed a third time, she, not returning her face to the board, answered, with a low, slighting voice in her own language, "Six;" but being further importuned, she, sitting a little while sullen, without uttering a word between, said, "Twelve," though she then had a hundred and fifty Indian men in her town, and so rose up and gravely walked away, as not pleased with her treatment.

While some days passed in settling the quotas of men, arms and ammunition, provisions, etc., each county was to furnish, one morning early a bruit ran about the town, "Bacon is fled! 'Bacon is fled!' whereupon I went straight to Mr. Lawrence, who formerly was of Oxford university, and for wit, learning, and sobriety was equaled there by few, and who some years before, as Colonel Lee, though one of the council and a friend of the governor, informed me had been partially treated at law, for a considerable estate on behalf of a corrupt favorite; which Lawrence complaining loudly of, the governor bore him a grudge; and now, shaking his head, said, "Old treacherous 'villain!" and that his house was searched that morning at daybreak, but Bacon was escaped into the country, having intimation that the governor's generosity in pardoning him and his followers, and restoring him to his seat in council, were no other than previous wheelles to amuse him and his adherents, and to circumvent them by stratagem, forasmuch as the taking Mr. Bacon again into the council was first to keep him out of the assembly, and in the next place the governor knew the country people were hastening down with dreadful threatenings to doubly revenge all wrongs that should be done to Mr. Bacon or his men, or whoever should have the least hand in them.

And so much was true, that this young Mr. Nathaniel Bacon (not yet arrived at thirty years) had a nigh relation, namely, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, of long standing in the council, a very rich, politic man, and childless, designing this kinsman for his heir, who, not without much pains, had prevailed with his uneasy cousin to deliver the aforementioned

written recantation at the bar, having compiled it ready to his hand, and by whose means it was supposed that timely intimation was conveyed to the young gentleman to flee for his life. And also, in three or four days after Mr. Bacon was first seized, I saw abundance of men in town, come thither from the heads of the rivers, who, finding him restored and his men at liberty, returned home satisfied; a few days after which the governor, seeing all quiet, gave out private warrants to take him again, intending, as was thought, to raise the militia, and so to dispose things as to prevent his friends from gathering any more into a like numerous body and coming down a second time to save him.

In three or four days after this escape, upon news that Mr. Bacon was thirty miles up the river, at the head of four hundred men, the governor sent to the parts adjacent, on both sides James river, for the militia and all the men that could be gotten to come and defend the town. Expresses came almost hourly of the army's approaches, which, in less than four days after the first account of them, at two o'clock entered the town, without being withstood, and formed a body upon a green, not a flight shot from the end of the state house, of horse and foot, as well regular as veteran troops, who forthwith possessed themselves of all the avenues, disarming all in town and coming thither in boats or by land.

In half an hour after this the drum beat for the house to meet, and in less than an hour more Mr. Bacon came, with a file of fusileers on either hand, near the corner of the state house, where the governor and council went forth to him. We saw from the window the governor open his breast, and Bacon strutting betwixt his two files of men with his left arm on Kenbow, flinging his right arm every way, both like men distracted; and if, in this moment of fury, that enraged multitude had fallen upon the governor and council, we of the assembly expected the same immediate fate. I stepped down, and amongst the crowd of spectators found the seamen of my sloop, who prayed me not to stir from them, when in two minutes the governor walked toward his private apartment, a coit's cast distant at the other end of the state house, the gentlemen of the council following him; and after them walked Mr. Bacon, with outrageous postures of his head, arms, body, and legs,

often tossing his hand from his sword to his hat, and after him came a detachment of fusileers (muskets not being there in use), who, with their cocks bent, presented their fusils at a window of the assembly chamber filled with faces, repeating with menacing voices, "We will have it! We will have it!" half a minute, when, as one of our house, a person known to many of them, shook his handkerchief out at the window, saying, "You shall have it! You shall have it!" three or four times. At these words they sat down their fusils, unbent their locks, and stood still until, Bacon coming back, followed him to their main body. In this hubbub a servant of mine got so nigh as to hear the governor's words, and also followed Mr. Bacon and heard what he said, who came and told me that when the governor opened his breast he said, "Here! shoot 'me! 'fore God, fair mark; shoot!" often rehearsing the same without any other words. Where to Mr. Bacon answered, "No, may it please your honor, we will not hurt a hair of your 'head, nor of any other man's; we are come for a commission 'to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often 'promised, and now we will have it before we go."

But when Mr. Bacon followed the governor and council with the aforementioned impetuous (like delirious) actions, while that party presented their fusils at the window full of faces, he said, "Damn my blood! I'll kill governor, council, assembly, 'and all, and then I'll sheath my sword in my own heart's 'blood!" And afterwards, it was said, Bacon had given a signal to his men who presented their fusils at those gazing out at the window, that if he should draw his sword, they were on sight of it to fire and slay us. So near was the massacre of us all that very minute, had Bacon in that paroxysm of frantic fury drawn his sword before the pacific handkerchief was shaken out at the window.

In an hour or more after these violent concussions, Mr. Bacon came up to our chamber and desired a commission from us to go against the Indians. Our speaker sat silent, when one Mr. Blayton, a neighbor to Mr. Bacon, and elected with him a member of assembly for the same county, who therefore durst speak to him, made answer, "'T was not in our province 'or power, nor of any other save the king's vicegerent, our 'governor." He pressed hard, nigh half an hour's harangue,

on the preserving our lives from the Indians, inspecting the public revenues, the exorbitant taxes, and redressing the grievances and calamities of that deplorable country; whereto, having no other answer, he went away dissatisfied.

Next day there was a rumor the governor and council had agreed Mr. Bacon should have a commission to go as general of the forces we then were raising, whereupon I, being a member for Stafford, the most northern frontier, and where the war begun, considering that Mr. Bacon, dwelling in the most southern frontier county, might the less regard the parts I represented, I went to Colonel Cole, an active member of the council, desiring his advice, if applications to Mr. Bacon on that subject were then seasonable and safe; which he approving and earnestly advising, I went to Mr. Lawrence, who was esteemed Mr. Bacon's principal consultant, to whom he took me with him, and there left me, where I was entertained two or three hours with the particular relations of diverse before-recited transactions. And as to the matter I spake of, he told me that the governor had indeed promised him the command of the forces, and if his honor should keep his word (which he doubted), he assured me "the like care should be taken of 'the remotest corners in the land as of his own dwelling-house,'" and prayed me to advise him what persons in those parts were most fit to bear commands. I frankly gave him my opinion that the most satisfactory gentlemen to governor and people would be commanders of the militia; wherewith he was well pleased, and himself wrote a list of those nominated.

That evening I made known what had passed with Mr. Bacon to my colleague, Colonel Mason, whose bottle attendance doubled my task. The matter he liked well, but questioned the governor's approbation of it.

I confessed the case required sedate thoughts, reasoning that he and such like gentlemen must either command or be commanded, and if on their denials Mr. Bacon should take distaste, and be constrained to appoint commanders out of the rabble, the governor himself, with the persons and estates of all in the land, would be at their disposal, whereby their own ruin might be owing to themselves. In this he agreed and said, "If the governor would give his own commission he would be 'content to serve under General Bacon'" (as now he began to

be intitled), but first would consult other gentlemen in the same circumstances; who all concurred 't was the most safe barrier in view against pernicious designs, if such should be put in practice. With this I acquainted Mr. Lawrence, who went rejoicing to Mr. Bacon with the good tidings that the militia commanders were inclined to serve under him as their general, in case the governor would please to give them his own commissions.

We of the house proceeded to finish the bill for the war, which, by the assent of the governor and council, being passed into an act, the governor sent us a letter, directed to his majesty, wherein were these words, "I have above thirty 'years governed the most flourishing country the sun ever 'shone over, but am now encompassed with rebellion like 'waters, in every respect like to that of Massanello, except 'their leader," and of like import was the substance of that letter. But we did not believe his honor sent us all he wrote to his majesty.

Some judicious gentlemen of our house likewise penned a letter of remonstrance to be sent his majesty, setting forth the gradations of those eruptions, and two or three of them, with Mr. Minge, our clerk, brought it me to compile a few lines for the conclusion of it, which I did (though not without regret in those watchful times, when every man had eyes on him), but what I wrote was with all possible deference to the governor, and in the most soft terms my pen could find the case to admit.

Colonel Spencer being my neighbor and intimate friend, and a prevalent member of the council, I prayed him to intreat the governor that we might be dissolved, for that was my first and should be my last going astray from my wonted sphere of merchandise and other of my private concerns, into the dark and slippery meanders of court embarrassments. He told me the governor had not then determined his intention, but he would move his honor about it, and in two or three days we were dissolved, which I was most heartily glad of, because of my getting loose again from being hampered amongst those pernicious entanglements in the labyrinths and snares of state ambiguities, and which until then I had not seen the practice nor the dangers of; for it was observed that several of the members had secret badges of distinction fixed upon them, as

not docile enough to gallop the future races that the court seemed dispose to lead them, whose maxims I had ofttimes heard whispered before, and then found confirmed by diverse considerate gentlemen, viz., "that the wise and the rich were prone to faction and sedition, but the fools and poor were easy to be governed."

Many members being met one evening nigh sunset, to take our leaves each of other, in order next day to return homewards, came General Bacon with his hand full of unfolded papers, and overlooking us round, walking in the room, said, "Which of these gentlemen shall I entreat to write a few words for me?" Whereupon, everyone looking aside as not willing to meddle, Mr. Lawrence, pointing at me, said, "That gentleman writes very well." Which I, endeavoring to excuse, Mr. Bacon came stooping to the ground and said, "Pray, sir, do me the honor to write a line for me?"

This surprising request shocked me into a melancholy consternation, dreading upon one hand, that Stafford county would feel the smart of his resentment, if I should refuse him whose favor I had so lately sought and been generously promised on their behalf; and, on the other hand, fearing the governor's displeasure, who I knew would soon hear of it. What seemed most prudent at this hazardous dilemma, was to obviate the present impending peril; so Mr. Bacon made me sit the whole night by him filling up those papers, which I then saw were blank commissions signed by the governor, inserting such names and writing other matters as he dictated; which I took to be the happy effects of the consult before mentioned, with the commanders of the militia, because he gave me the names of very few others to put into these commissions. And in the morning he left me with an hour's work or more to finish, when came to me Captain Carver, and said he had been to wait on the general for a commission, and that he was resolved to adventure his old bones against the Indian rogues, with other the like discourse, and at length told me that I was in mighty favor—and he was bid to tell me, that whatever I desired, in the general's power, was at my service. I prayed him humbly to thank his honor, and to acquaint him I had no other boon to crave, than his promised kindness to Stafford county; for beside the not being worthy, I never had been conversant in

military matters, and also having lived tenderly, my service could be of no benefit, because the hardships and fatigues of a wilderness campaign would put a speedy period to my days. Little expecting to hear of more intestine broils, I went home to Potomac, where reports were afterwards various. We had account that General Bacon had started on a march with a thousand men into the forest to seek the enemy Indians, and in a few days after our next news was, that the governor had summoned together the militia of Gloucester and Middlesex counties to the number of twelve hundred men, and proposed to them to follow and surpress that rebel, Bacon. Whereupon arose a murmuring before his face, "Bacon, Bacon, Bacon," and all walked out of the field, muttering as they went, "Bacon, Bacon, Bacon," leaving the governor and those that came with him to themselves, who, being thus abandoned, wafted over Chesapeake bay thirty miles to Occomack, where are two counties of Virginia.

Mr. Bacon, hearing of this, came back part of the way, and sent out parties of horse patrolling through every county, carrying away prisoners, all whom he distrusted might any more molest his Indian prosecution, yet giving liberty to such as pledged him their oaths to return home and live quiet; the copies or contents of which oaths I never saw, but heard were very strict, though little observed.

About this time there was a spy detected pretending himself a deserter, who had twice or thrice come and gone from party to party, and was by council of war sentenced to death, after which Bacon declared openly to him, "That if any 'one man in the army would speak a word to save him, he 'should not suffer," which no man appearing to do, he was executed. Upon this manifestation of clemency, Bacon was applauded for being a merciful man, not willing to spill Christian blood, nor indeed was it said that he put any other man to death in cold blood, or plundered any house. Nigh the same time came Major Langston with his troop of horse, and quartered two nights at my house, who (after high compliments from the general) told me I was desired "to accept the lieutenancy for 'preserving the peace in the northern counties, between 'Potomac and Rappahannock rivers." I humbly thanked his honor, excusing myself, as I had done before, on that invitation

of the like nature at Jamestown, but did hear he was mightily offended at my evasions, and threatened to remember me.

The governor made a second attempt, coming over from Accomack with what men he could procure in sloops and boats, forty miles up the river to Jamestown, which Bacon hearing of, the latter came again down from his forest pursuit, and finding a bank not a flight shot long cast up thwart the neck of the peninsula there in Jamestown, he stormed it, and took the town, in which attack were twelve men slain and wounded; but the governor with most of his followers fled back down the river in their vessels.

Here resting a few days, they concerted the burning of the town, wherein Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Drumond, owning the two best houses save one, set fire each to his own house, which example the soldiers following, laid the whole town, with church and state house, in ashes, saying "the rogues should 'harbor no more here.'"

On these reiterated molestations, Bacon calls a convention at Middle plantation, fifteen miles from Jamestown, in the month of August, 1676, where an oath with one or more proclamations were formed, and writs by him issued for an assembly. The oaths or writs I never saw, but one proclamation commanded all men in the land on pain of death to join him, and retire into the wilderness upon arrival of the forces expected from England, and oppose them until they should propose or accept to treat of an accommodation, which we who lived comfortably could not have undergone, so as the whole land must have become an Aceldama, if God's exceeding mercy had not timely removed him.

During these tumults in Virginia a second danger menaced Maryland by an insurrection in that province, complaining of their heavy taxes, etc., where two or three of the leading malcontents (men otherwise of laudable characters) were put to death, which stifled the farther spreading of that flame. Mr. Bacon at this time pressed the best ship in James river, carrying twenty guns, and putting into her his lieutenant-general, Mr. Bland (a gentleman newly come thither from England to possess the estate of his deceased uncle, late of the council), and under him the aforementioned Captain Carver, formerly a commander of merchant ships, with men and all necessities,

he sent her to ride before Accomack to curb and intercept all smaller vessels of war commissioned by the governor, coming often over and making depredations on the western shore, as if we had been foreign enemies, which gives occasion at this place to digress a few words.

At first assembly after the peace, came a message to them from the governor for some marks of distinction to be set on his loyal friends of Accomack, who received him in his adversity, which when it came to be considered Colonel Warner, then speaker, told the house, "Ye know that what mark of distinction his honor could have set on those of Accomack unless to 'give them earmarks or burnt marks for robbing and ravaging 'honest people, who stayed at home and preserved the estates 'of those who ran away, when none intended to hurt them."

Now returning to Captain Carver, the governor sent for him to come on shore, promising his peaceable return, who answered he could not trust his word, but if he would send his hand and seal he would adventure to wait upon his honor; which was done, and Carver went in his sloop, well armed and manned with the most trusty of his men, where he was caressed with wine, etc., and large promises, if he would forsake Bacon, resign his ship or join with him; to all which he answered that "if he served the Devil he would be true to his trust, but 'that he was resolved to go home and live quiet."

In the time of this reception and parley, an armed boat was prepared with many oars in a creek not far off, but out of sight, which when Carver sailed, rowed out of the creek, and it being almost calm, the boat outwent the sloop, whilst all on board the ship were upon the deck, staring at both, thinking the boat's company coming on board by Carver's invitation to be civilly entertained in requital of the kindness, they supposed he had received on shore; until, coming under the stern, those in the boat slipped nimbly in at the gun-room ports with pistols, etc., when one courageous gentleman ran up to the deck, and clapped a pistol to Bland's breast, saying, "You are my prisoner," the boat's company suddenly following with pistols, swords, etc.; and after Captain Larimore (the commander of the ship before she was pressed), having from the highest and hindmost part of the stern interchanged a signal from the shore by flirting his handkerchief about his nose, his own former

crew had laid handspikes ready, which they at that instant caught up, etc., so as Bland's and Carver's men were amazed and yielded.

Carver, seeing a hurly-burly on the ship's deck, would have gone away with his sloop, but having little wind and the ship threatening to sink him, he tamely came on board, where Bland and he with their party were laid in irons, and in three or four days Carver was hanged on shore, which Sir Henry Chicheley, the first of the council, then a prisoner (with divers other gentlemen) to Mr. Bacon, did afterwards exclaim against as a most rash and wicked act of the governor, he in particular expecting to have been treated by way of reprisal as Bacon's friend Carver had been by the governor. Mr. Bacon now returns from his last expedition sick of a flux, without finding any enemy Indians, having not gone far by reason of the vexations behind him, nor had he one dry day in all his marches to and fro in the forest, whilst the plantations, not fifty miles distant, had a summer so dry as stunted the Indian corn and tobacco, etc., which the people ascribed to the "pawawings," i. e., the sorceries of the Indians. In a while Bacon died, and was succeeded by his lieutenant-general, Ingram, who had one Wakelet next in command under him; whereupon hastened over the governor to York river, and with him they articulated for themselves and whom else they could, and so all submitted and were pardoned, exempting those nominated and otherwise proscribed in a proclamation of indemnity, the principal of whom were Lawrence and Drumond.

Mr. Bland was then a prisoner, having been taken with Carver, as before is noted, and in a few days Mr. Drumond was brought in, when the governor, being on board a ship, came immediately to shore and complimented him with the ironical sarcasm of a low bend, saying, "Mr. Drumond! 'you are very welcome, I am more glad to see you than any 'man in Virginia; Mr. Drumond, you shall be hanged in half 'an hour,'" who answered, "What your honor pleases," and as soon as a council of war could meet, his sentence be dispatched, and a gibbet erected (which took up near two hours), he was executed.

This Mr. Drumond was a sober Scotch gentleman of good repute, with whom I had not a particular acquaintance, nor do

I know the cause of that rancour his honor had against him, other than his pretensions in common for the public; but meeting him by accident the morning I left the town, I advised him to be very wary, for he saw the governor had put a brand upon him, he (gravely expressing my name) answered, "I 'am in over shoes, I will be over boots," which I was sorry to hear, and left him.

The last account of Mr. Lawrence was from an uppermost plantation, whence he and four other desperadoes with horses, pistols, etc., marched away in a snow ankle deep, who are thought to have cast themselves into a branch of some river, rather than be treated like Drumond.

Bacon's body was so made away, as his bones were never found to be exposed on a gibbet as was purposed, stones being laid in his coffin, supposed to be done by Lawrence.

Near this time arrived a small fleet with a regiment from England, Sir John Berry, admiral, Colonel Herbert Jeffries, commander of the land forces, and Colonel Morrison, who had one year been a former governor there, all three joined in commission with or to Sir William Barclay soon after, when a general court and also an assembly were held, where some of our former assembly (with so many others) were put to death, divers whereof were persons of honest reputations and handsome estates, as that the assembly petitioned the governor to spill no more blood. And Mr. Presley at his coming home told me, he believed the governor would have hanged half the country if they had let him alone. The first was Mr. Bland, whose friends in England had procured his pardon to be sent over with the fleet, which he pleaded at his trial was in the governor's pocket (though whether it was so, or how it came there, I know not, yet did not hear it was openly contradicted); but he was answered by Colonel Morrison that he pleaded his pardon at sword's point, which was looked upon as an odd sort of reply, and he was executed (as was talked) by private instructions from England, the Duke of York having sworn "by God, Bacon and Bland should die."

The governor went in the fleet to London (whether by command from his majesty or spontaneous, I did not hear), leaving Colonel Jeffries in his place, and by next shipping came back a person who waited on his honor in his voyage,

and until his death, from whom a report was whispered about, that the king did say, "That old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than he had done for the murder of his father," whereof the governor having died soon after without having seen his majesty, which shuts up this tragedy.

APPENDIX.

TO avoid incumbering the body of the foregoing little discourse, I have not therein mentioned the received opinion in Virginia, which very much attributed the promoting these perturbations to Mr. Lawrence; and Mr. Bacon, with his other adherents, were esteemed as but wheels agitated by the weight of his former and present resentments, after their choler was raised up to a very high pitch, at having been so long and often trifled with on their humble supplications to the governor for his immediate taking in hand the most speedy means towards stopping the continued effusions of so much English blood, from time to time by the Indians. Which common sentiments I have the more reason to believe were not altogether groundless; because I myself have heard him, in his familiar discourse, insinuate as if his fancy gave him prospect of finding, at one time or other, some expedient not only to repair his great loss, but therewith to see those abuses rectified that the country was oppressed with, through, as he said, the forwardness, avarice, and French despotic methods of the governed. And likewise I knew him to be a thinking man, and though nicely honest, affable, and without blemish, in his conversation and dealings, yet did he manifest abundance of uneasiness in the sense of his hard usages, which might prompt him to improve that Indian quarrel to the service of his animosities; and for this the more fair and frequent opportunities offered themselves to him by his dwelling at Jamestown, where was the concourse from all parts to the governor; and besides that, he had married a wealthy widow, who kept a large house of public entertainment, unto which resorted those of the best quality, and such others as business called to that town, and

his parts with his even temper made his converse coveted by persons of all ranks, so that being subtile, and having these advantages, he might with less difficulty discover men's inclinations, and instil his notions where he found those would be imbibed with greatest satisfaction.

As for Mr. Bacon, fame did lay to his charge the having run out his patrimony in England except what he brought to Virginia, and of that the most part to be exhausted, which together made him suspected of casting an eye to search for retrievèment in the troubled waters of popular discontents, wanting patience to wait the death of his opulent cousin, old Colonel Bacon, whose estate he expected to inherit.

But he was too young, too much a stranger there, and of a disposition too precipitate, to manage things to that length those were carried, had not thoughtful Mr. Lawrence been at the bottom.

H.M.

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS; or the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with Useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER, of COOPERS-TOWN, to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: Printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street; 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction especially written for this new edition by James Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, a great-grandson of Judge Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE LATE WAR, under the command of COLONELS FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of the lake from Erie to Long Point; also the crossing of Niagara by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa, the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the author (then a captain), and their treatment; together with an historical account of the Canadas. By SAMUEL WHITE. Baltimore, 1830. 12mo, boards, uncut. \$1.00

Three hundred copies only, 1896.

For Sale.

AMERICAN HISTORY AS TOLD BY CONTEMPORARIES. Vol. 1, Era of Colonization, 1493-1689. 8vo, cloth, New York, 1897. \$2.00

HISTORY OF THE PEQUOT WAR, from the contemporary accounts of Mason, Underhill, Vincent, and Gardener. Edited with notes and an introduction by Charles Orr. 8vo, cloth, uncut, Cleveland, 1897, edition limited. \$2.50

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WARS IN NEW ENGLAND. By William Hubbard. Revised and annotated by Samuel G. Drake. 2 vols., small 4to, sewed. An uncut and unopened set in fine condition. Roxbury, 1865. \$6.00
Three hundred and fifty copies only printed.
One set only.

THE STONE SCULPTURES OF COPAN AND QUIRIGUA, drawn by Heinrich Meye. Historical and descriptive text by Dr. Julius Schmidt. Translated from the German by A. D. Savage. Royal folio, illustrated, New York, 1883. One copy only. \$6.00

THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS, 1602-1624 A. D., as told by themselves, their friends, and their enemies. Edited from the original texts by Edward Arber. 12mo, cloth, uncut, Boston, 1897. \$2.00

TRAVELS in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York, and Vermont. Journals of John Lincklaen, agent of the Holland Land Company. With a biographical sketch and notes. 8vo, cloth, uncut, New York, 1897. Five hundred copies only printed. \$2.00

*Any of the books above will be forwarded on receipt
of price by George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange
Street, Rochester, New York.*

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
 MONTHLY

NUMBER NINE

JANUARY 1898

AN ACCOUNT OF OUR LATE TROUBLES IN VIRGINIA, WRITTEN IN 1676 BY MRS. ANN COTTON OF Q. CREEK. PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE RICHMOND (VA.) ENQUIRER OF 12TH SEPTEMBER, 1804.

A LIST OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN EXECUTED FOR THE LATE REBELLION IN VIRGINIA, BY SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by

GEORGE P HUMPHREY

ROCHESTER

Foreign Agents GAY & BIRD London England

AN ACCOUNT

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C.; England, agents for Europe and the Colonies. The number for February will contain "A Narrative of the Indian and Civil Wars in Virginia, in the years 1675 and 1676."

VIRGINIA

Recently Issued.

HISTORIC NEW YORK—The Half Moon Series. Edited by Maud Wilder Goodwin, Alice Carrington Royce, and Ruth Putnam. Illustrated, 8vo, gilt top. \$2.50

CONTENTS.

Fort Amsterdam. By Maud Wilder Goodwin.	Old Wells and Water-Courses. Part II. By George Everett Hill and George E. Waring, Jr.
The Stadt Huys of New Amsterdam. By Alice Morse Earle.	Old Greenwich. By Elizabeth Bisland.
Wall Street. By Oswald Garrison Villard.	The Fourteen Miles Round. By Alfred Bishop Mason and Mary Murdock Mason.
Annetje Jan's Farm. By Ruth Putnam.	King's College. By John B. Pine.
The City Chest of New Amsterdam. By E. Dana Durand.	The Bowery. By Edward Ringwood Hewitt and Mary Ashley Hewitt.
Old Wells and Water-Courses. Part I. By George Everett Hill and George E. Waring Jr.	Governor's Island. By Blanche Wilder Bellamy.

AN ACCOUNT
OF
OUR LATE TROUBLES
IN
VIRGINIA

WRITTEN IN 1676 BY MRS. AN. COTTON, OF
Q. CREEKE.

Published from the original manuscript in the Richmond (Va.)
Enquirer of 12 September, 1804.

OUR LATE TROUBLES.

To Mr. C. H., at Yardly, in Northamptonshire :

SIR: I having seen yours directed to ———, and considering that you cannot have your desires satisfied that way, for the forementioned reasons, I have by his permission adventured to send you this brief account of those affairs, so far as I have been informed.

The Susquehanians and Marylanders of friends being engaged enemies, as hath by former letter been hinted to you, and that the Indians being resolutely bent not to forsake their fort, it came to this point, that the Marylanders were obliged, finding themselves too weak to do the work themselves, to supplicate—too soon granted—aid of the Virginians, put under the conduct of one Colonel Washington, him whom you have sometimes seen at your house, who, being joined with the Marylanders, invests the Indians in their fort with a negligent siege, upon which the enemy made several sallies, with as many losses to the besiegers, and at last gave them the opportunity to desert the fort, after that the English had, contrary to the law of arms, beat out the brains of six great men sent out to treat a peace ; an action of ill-consequence, as it proved afterwards, for the Indians having in the dark slipped through the Legure, and in their passage knocked ten of the besiegers on the head, whom they found fast asleep, leaving the rest to prosecute the siege (as Scoging's wife brooding the eggs that the fox had sucked), they resolved to employ their liberty in avenging their commissioners' blood, which they speedily effected in the death of sixty innocent souls, and then sent in their remonstrance to the governor in justification of the fact, with this expostulation annexed: demanding what it was moved him to take up arms against them, his professed friends, in behalf of the Marylanders, their avowed enemies ; declaring their sorrow to see the Virginians of friends to become such violent enemies as to

pursue the chase into another's dominions ; complains that their messengers, sent out for peace, were not only knocked on the head, but the fact countenanced by the governor, for which, finding no other way to be satisfied, they had revenged themselves by killing ten for one of the English, such being the disproportion between their men murdered and those by them slain, theirs being persons of quality, the other of inferior rank ; professing that if they may have a valuable satisfaction for the damage they had sustained by the English, and that the Virginians would withdraw their aid from the Marylanders' quarrel ; that then they would renew the league with Sir W. B.,* otherwise they would prosecute the war to the last man, and the hardest fend of.

This was fair play from foul gamesters. But the proposals not to be allowed of as being contrary to the honor of the English, the Indians proceed, and, having drawn the neighboring Indians into their aid in a short time, they committed abundance of unguarded and unrevenged murders, by which means a great many of the outward plantations were deserted, the doing whereof did not only terrify the whole colony, but supplanted what esteem the people formerly had for Sir W. B., whom they judged too remiss in applying means to stop the fury of the heathen, and to settle their affections and expectations upon one Esquire Bacon, newly come to the country, one of the council, and nearly related to your late wife's father-in-law, whom they desired might be commissioned general for the Indian war, which Sir William, for some reasons best known to himself, denying, the gentleman, without any scruple, accepts of a commission from the people's affections, signed by the emergencies of affairs and the country's danger, and so forth with advanced with a small party, composed of such that own his authority, against the Indians, on whom, it is said, he did signal execution. In his absence he, and those with him, were declared rebels to the state, May 29th, and forces raised to reduce him to his obedience, at the head of which the governor advanced some thirty or forty miles to find Bacon out, but not knowing which way he was gone, he dismissed his army, retiring himself and council to Jamestown, there to be ready for the assembly, which was now upon the point of

* Sir William Berkeley, the Governor of Virginia.

meeting, whither Bacon, some few days after his return home from his Indian march, repaired to render an account of his services, for which he, and most of those with him in the expedition, were imprisoned; from whence they were freed by a judgment in court upon Bacon's trial, himself readmitted into the council, and promised a commission the Monday following (this was on Saturday) against the Indians; with which deluded, he smothered his resentments, and begs leave to visit his lady, now sick, as he pretended, which being granted, he returns to town at the head of four or five hundred men, well armed, and resumed his demands for a commission, which, after some hours' struggle with the governor, being obtained, according to his desire, he takes order for the country's security against the attempts of sculking Indians, fills up his numbers and provisions according to the gage of his commission, and so once more advanced against the Indians, who, hearing of his approach, called in their runners and scouts, betaking themselves to their subterfuges and lurking-holes. The general, for so he was now denominated, had not reached the head of York river, but that a post overtakes him and informs him that Sir W. B. was raising the train-bands in Gloucester, with an intent either to fall into his rear, or otherwise to cut him off when he should return, weary and spent from his Indian service. This strange news put him and those with him shrewdly to their trumps, believing that a few such deals or shuffles, call them which you will, might quickly ring both cards and game out of his hands; he saw that there was an absolute necessity of destroying the Indians, and that there was some care to be taken for his own and the army's safety, otherwise the work might happen to be wretchedly done, where the laborers were made cripples, and be compelled instead of a sword to make use of a crutch. It vexed him to the heart, as he said, to think that while he was a hunting wolves, tigers, and bears, which daily destroyed our harmless and innocent lambs, that he and those with him should be pursued in the rear with a full cry, as more savage beasts; he perceived, like the corn, he was light between those stones, which might grind him to powder if he did not look the better about him, for the preventing of which, after a short consultation with his officers, he countermarched his army, about five hundred in all, down to

the middle plantation, of which the governor being informed, ships himself and adherers for Accomack (for the Gloster men refused to own his quarrel against the general), after he had caused Bacon, in these parts, to be proclaimed a rebel once more, July 29th.

Bacon, being sate down with his army at the middle plantation, sends out an invitation to all the prime gentlemen in these parts, to give him a meeting in his quarters, there to consult how the Indians were to be proceeded against, and himself and army protected against the designs of Sir W. B., against whose papers of the twenty-ninth of May, and his proclamation since, he puts forth his replication and those papers upon these dilemmas.

First, whether persons wholly devoted to the king and country, haters of sinister and by-respects, adventuring their lives and fortunes to kill and destroy all in arms against king and country; that never plotted, contrived, or endeavored the destruction, detriment, or wrong, of any of his majesty's subjects, their lives, fortunes, or estates, can deserve the names of rebels and traitors. *Secondly*, he cites his own and soldiers' peaceable behavior, calling the whole country to witness against him if they can; he upbraids some in authority with the meanness of their parts, others, now rich, with the meanness of their estates when they came into the country, and questions by what just ways they have obtained their wealth, whether they have not been the sponges that have sucked up the public treasury; questions what arts, sciences, schools of learning, or manufactories, have been promoted in authority; justifies his aversion in general against the Indians; upbraids the governor for maintaining their quarrel, though ever so unjust, against the Christians' rights, his refusal to admit an Englishman's oath against an Indian, when that Indian's bare word should be accepted of against an Englishman; said something against the governor concerning the beaver trade, as not in his power to dispose of to his own profit, it being a monopoly of the crown; questions whether the traders at the heads of the rivers, being his factors, do not buy and sell the blood of their brethren and countrymen, by furnishing the Indians with powder, shot, and firearms, contrary to the laws of the colony; he arraigns one Colonel Cowell's assertion, for saying that

the English are bound to protect the Indians, to the hazard of their blood; and so concludes with an appeal to the king and parliament, where he doubts not but that his and the people's cause will be impartially heard.

To comply with the general's invitation, hinted in my former letter, there was a great convention of the people met him in his quarters, the result of which meeting was an engagement, for the people (of whatsoever quality, excepting servants) to subscribe to, consisting of three heads: *First*, to be aiding, with their lives and estates, the general in the Indian war; *secondly*, to oppose Sir William's designs, if he had any, to hinder the same; and *lastly*, to protect the general, army, and all that should subscribe to this engagement, against any power that should be sent out of England, till it should be granted that the country's complaint might be heard, against Sir William, before the king and parliament. These three heads being methodized and put into form by the clerk of the assembly, who happened to be at this meeting, and read to the people, they held a dispute from almost noon till midnight, pro and con, whether the same might, in the last article especially, be without danger taken. The general, and some others of the chief men, were resolute in the affirmative, asserting its innocency, and protesting, without it, he would surrender up his commission to the assembly, and let them find other servants to do the country's work; this, and the news that the Indians were falling down into Gloster county, and had killed some people around Carter's creek, made the people willing to take the engagement. The chief men who subscribed it at this meeting were Colonel Swan, Colonel Beale, Colonel Ballard, Esquire Bray, all four of the council, Colonel Jordan, Colonel Smith of Purton, Colonel Scarsbrook, Colonel Miller, Colonel Lawrance, and Mr. Drommond, late governor of Carolina, all persons with whom you have been formerly acquainted.

This work being over, and orders given for an assembly to sit on the fourth of September, the writs being issued in his majesty's name, and signed by four of the council, before named, the general once more sets out to find the Indians: of which Sir William having gained intelligence, to prevent Bacon's designs by the assembly, returns from Accomack with about one thousand soldiers, and others, in five ships and ten sloops,

to Jamestown, in which were some nine hundred Baconians, for so now they began to be called for a mark of distinction, under the command of Colonel Hansford, who was commissioned by Bacon to raise forces, if need were, in his absence, for the safety of the country. Unto these Sir William sends in a summons for a rendition of the place, with a pardon to all that would decline Bacon's, and entertain his cause. What was returned to this summons I know not, but in the night the Baconians forsake the town, by the advice of Drommond and Lawrance (who were both excepted in the governor's summons, out of mercy), every one returning to their own abode, excepting Drommond, Hansford, Lawrence, and some few others, who went to find the general, now returned to the head of York river, having spent his provisions in following the Indians, on whom he did some execution, and sent them packing a great way from the borders.

Before that Drommond, and those with him, had reached the general, he had dismissed his army to their respective habitations, to gather strength against the next intended expedition, excepting some few reserved for his guard, and persons living in these parts, unto whom, those that came with Hansford being joined, made about one hundred and fifty in all. With these, Bacon, by a swift march, before any news was heard of his return from the Indians, in these parts, comes to town, to the consternation of all in it, and there blocks the governor up, which he easily effected by this unheard of project: he was no sooner arrived at town, but by several small parties of horse, two or three in a party, for more he could not spare, he fetcheth into his little Leagure all the prime men's wives, whose husbands were with the governor, as Colonel Bacon's lady, Madame Bray, Madame Page, Madame Ballard, and others, who, the next morning, he presents to the view of their husbands and friends in town, upon the top of the small work he had cast up in the night, where he caused them to tarry until he had finished his defense against his enemies' shot, it being the only place, as you do know well enough, for those in town to make a sally at, which when completed, and the governor understanding that the gentlewomen were withdrawn to a place of safety, he sent out some six or seven hundred of his soldiers, to beat Bacon out of his trench.

But it seems that those works, that were protected by such charms while raising, that plugged up the enemy's shot in their guns, could not now be stormed by a virtue less powerful, when finished, than the sight of a few white aprons, otherwise the service had been more honorable and the damage less, several of those who made the sally being slain and wounded, without one drop of blood drawn from the enemy. Within two or three days after this disaster, the governor reships himself, soldiers, and all the inhabitants of the town, and their goods, and so to Accomack again, leaving Bacon to enter the place at his pleasure, which he did the next morning before day, and the night following burned it down to the ground, to prevent a future siege, as he said, which flagrant and flagitious act performed, he draws his men out of town, and marched them over York river, at Tindell's point, to find Colonel Brent, who was advancing fast upon him from Potomack, at the head of twelve hundred men, as he was informed, with a design to raise Bacon's siege from before the town, or otherwise to fight him, as he saw cause ; but Brent's soldiers no sooner heard that Bacon had got on the north side of York river, with an intent to fight them, and that he had beat the governor out of the town, and fearing if he met with them that he might beat them out of their lives, they basely forsook their colors, the greater part adhering to Bacon's cause, resolving with the Persians to go and worship the rising sun, now approaching near their horizon ; of which Bacon being informed, he stops his proceedings that way, and begins to provide for another expedition against the Indians, of whom he had heard no news since his last march against them ; which while he was a continuing, death summoned him to more urgent affairs, into whose hands, after a short siege, he surrenders his life, leaving his commission in the custody of his lieutenant-general, one Ingram, newly come into the country.

Sir William no sooner had news that Bacon was dead but he sent over a party, in a sloop, to York, who snapped Colonel Hansford and others with him, that kept a negligent guard at Colonel Reade's house, under his command. When Hansford came to Accomack, he had the honor to be the first Virginian born that was ever hanged ; the soldiers, about twenty in all, that were taken with him, were committed to prison, Captain

Carver, Captain Wilford, Captain Farloe, with five or six others of less note, taken at other places, ending their days as Hansford did ; Major Cheesman being appointed, but it seems not destined to the like end, which he prevented by dying in prison, through ill-usage, as it is said.

This execution being over, which the Baconians termed cruelty in the abstract, Sir William ships himself and soldiers for York river, casting anchor at Tindell's point, from where he sent up one hundred and twenty men, to surprise a guard of about thirty men and boys, kept at Colonel Bacon's house, under the command of Major Whaley, who, being forewarned by Hansford's fate, prevented the designed conflict, with the death of the commander-in-chief, and the taking some prisoners ; Major Lawrence Smith, with six hundred men, meeting with the like fate at Colonel Pate's house in Gloster, against Ingram, the Baconian general, only Smith saved himself by leaving his men in the lurch, being all made prisoners, whom Ingram dismissed to their own homes ; Ingram himself, and all under his command, within a few days after, being reduced to his duty, by the well contrivance of Captain Grantham, who was now lately arrived at York river, which put a period to the war, and brought the governor ashore at Colonel Bacon's, where he was presented with Mr. Drommond, taken the day before in Chickahominy swamp, half famished, as he himself related to my husband ; from Colonel Bacon's, the next day, he was conveyed in irons to Mr. Bray's, whither the governor had removed, to his trial, where he was condemned, within half an hour after his coming to Esquire Bray's, to be hanged at the middle plantation within four hours after his condemnation, where he was accordingly executed, with a pitiful Frenchman. Which done, the governor removed to his own house, to settle his and the country's repose, after his many troubles, which he effected by the advice of his council and an assembly, convened at the Green spring, where several were condemned to be executed, prime actors in the rebellion, as Esquire Bland, Colonel Cruse, and some others, hanged at Bacon's trench, Captain Yong of Chickahominy, Mr. Hall, clerk of New Kent court, James Wilson, once your servant, and one Lieutenant-colonel Page (one that my husband bought of Mr. Lee, when he kept store at your house), all four executed at Colonel Read's, over against

Findell's point, and Anthony Arnell, the same that did live at your house, hanged in chains at West Point, besides several others executed on the other side of James river—enough, they say, in all, to outnumber those slain in the whole war on both sides, it being observable that the sword was more favorable than the halter, as there was a greater liberty taken to run from the sharpness of the one than would be allowed to shun the dull embraces of the other, the hangman being more dreadful to the Baconians than their general was to the Indians, as it is counted more honorable and less terrible to die like a soldier than to be hanged like a dog.

Thus, sir, have I rendered you an account of our late troubles in Virginia, which I have performed too wordishly, but I did not know how to help it. Ignorance in some cases is a prevalent overture in pleading for pardon; I hope mine may have the fortune to prove so in the behalf of,

Sir, your friend and servant,

From Q. Creek.

AN. COTTON.

To his wife, A. C., at Q. Creek:

MY DEAR: Although those who have depicted that fickle goddess, Fortune, have represented her under various shapes, thereby to denote her inconstancies, yet do I think there is not anything sublunary subjected to the vicissitudes of her temper so much as is the condition and estate of mankind. All things else partake something of a steadfast and permanent degree except man in the state of his affairs. The sun is constant in his annual progress through the zodiac, the moon in her changes, the other planets in their aspects. The productions of the earth have a fixed constant season for their growth and increase, when that man, in his creation little inferior to the angels, cannot promise unto himself a fixed condition this side of heaven.

How many hath thou and I read of, that the sun hath shined upon in the east, with honors and dignities, which his western beams hath seen clouded with poverty, reproaches, and contumelies. The same moment that saw Cæsar chief man in the senate, beheld him in a worse condition than the meanest

slave in Rome; and in less than six hours Phœbus eyed the Marquis of Ancrey, in the midst of his rustling train of servants, not only streaming out his blood, but spurned and dragged up and down the dirty streets of Paris, by the worst of mechanics. It is but the other day that I did see N. B.* in the condition of a traitor, to be tried for his life, who but a few days before was judged the most accomplished gentleman in Virginia to serve his king and country at the council table, or to put a stop to the insolencies of the heathen, and the next day raised to his dignities again. Thus doth fortune sport herself with poor mortals, sometimes mount them up into the air, as boys do tennis balls, that they may come with the greater violence down, and then again strike them against the earth, that they may with ye greater speed mount up into the air, etc.

From Town, June 9, '76.

* Nathaniel Bacon.

A LIST
OF THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN EXECUTED
FOR THE
LATE REBELLION
IN
VIRGINIA

BY SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY.

Copied from the original manuscript (Harleian collection, codex 6845,
page 54) in the Library of the British Museum, London,
by ROBERT GREENHOW, ESQ., of Virginia.

A LIST OF THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN EXECUTED FOR YE
LATE REBELLION IN VIRGINIA.

1. One Johnson, a stirrer up of the people to sedition, but no fighter.

2. One Barlow, one of Cromwell's soldiers, very active in this rebellion, and taken with forty men coming to surprise me at Accomack.

3. One Carver, a valiant man and stout seaman, taken miraculously, who came with Bland, with equal commission, and two hundred men to take me and some other gentlemen that assisted me, with the help of two hundred soldiers; miraculously delivered into my hand.

4. One Wilford, an interpreter, that frightened the Queen of Pamunkey from ye lands she had granted her by the Assembly, a month after peace was concluded with her.

5. One Hartford, a valiant, stout man, and a most resolved rebel.

All these at Accomack.

AT YORK WHILST I LAY THERE.

1. One Young, commissioned by General Monck long before he declared for ye king.

2. One Page, a carpenter, formerly my servant, but for his violence used against the royal party, made a colonel.

3. One Harris, that shot to death a valiant loyalist prisoner.

4. One Hall, a clerk of a county, but more useful to the rebels than forty army men, who died very penitent, confessing his rebellion against his king and his ingratitude to me.

AT THE MIDDLE PLANTATION.

One Drummond, a Scotchman, that we all supposed was the original cause of the whole rebellion, with a common Frenchman, that had been very bloody.

CONDEMNED AT MY HOUSE, AND EXECUTED WHEN BACON
LAY BEFORE JAMESTOWN.

1. One Colonel Crewe, Bacon's parasite, that continually went about ye country extolling all Bacon's actions and justifying his rebellion.

2. One Cookson, taken in rebellion.

3. One Darby, from a servant made a captain.

WILLIAM BERKELEY.

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS; or the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with Useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER, of COOPERS-TOWN, to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: Printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street; 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction especially written for this new edition by James Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, a great-grandson of Judge Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE LATE WAR, under the command of COLONELS FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of the lake from Erie to Long Point; also the crossing of Niagara by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa, the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the author (then a captain), and their treatment; together with an historical account of the Canadas. By SAMUEL WHITE. Baltimore, 1830. 12mo, boards, uncut. \$1.00

Three hundred copies only, 1896.

18460
For Sale.

AMERICAN HISTORY AS TOLD BY CONTEMPORARIES. Vol. 1, Era of Colonization, 1493-1689. 8vo, cloth, New York, 1897. \$2.00

HISTORY OF THE PEQUOT WAR, from the contemporary accounts of Mason, Underhill, Vincent, and Gardener. Edited with notes and an introduction by Charles Orr. 8vo, cloth, uncut, Cleveland, 1897, edition limited. \$2.50

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WARS IN NEW ENGLAND. By William Hubbard. Revised and annotated by Samuel G. Drake. 2 vols., small 4to, sewed. An uncut and unopened set in fine condition. Roxbury, 1865. \$6.00
Three hundred and fifty copies only printed.
One set only.

THE STONE SCULPTURES OF COPAN AND QUIRIGUA, drawn by Heinrich Meye. Historical and descriptive text by Dr. Julius Schmidt. Translated from the German by A. D. Savage. Royal folio, illustrated, New York, 1883. One copy only. \$6.00

THE STORY OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS, 1602-1624 A. D., as told by themselves, their friends, and their enemies. Edited from the original texts by Edward Arber. 12mo, cloth, uncut, Boston, 1897. \$2.00

TRAVELS in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York, and Vermont. Journals of John Lincklaen, agent of the Holland Land Company. With a biographical sketch and notes. 8vo, cloth, uncut, New York, 1897. Five hundred copies only printed. \$2.00

*Any of the books above will be forwarded on receipt
of price by George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange
Street, Rochester, New York.*

55
AMERICAN

COLONIAL TRACTS

MONTHLY

NUMBER TEN

FEBRUARY 1898

A NARRATIVE OF THE INDIAN AND CIVIL
WARS IN VIRGINIA IN THE YEARS 1675
AND 1676. PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL
MANUSCRIPT, IN THE FIRST VOLUME (SECOND
SERIES) OF THE COLLECTION OF THE MASS-
ACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. BOSTON:
PRINTED BY JOHN ELIOT, NO. 5 COURT
STREET, 1814.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by

GEORGE P HUMPHREY

ROCHESTER

Foreign Agents GAY & BIRD London England

A NARRATIVE

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for Europe and the Colonies. The number for March will contain: "New England's Plantation; or a short and true description of the commodities and discommodities of that country. Written by a reverend Divine now there resident. London: printed by T. C. and R. C. for Michael Sparke, dwelling at the sign of the Blue Bible in Green Arbor, in the Little Old Bailey, 1630."

IN

Just Published :

THE LIFE OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON. 1737-1832. With his Correspondence and Public Papers. By Kate Mason Rowland, author of "The Life of George Mason," etc. Fully illustrated. Two volumes, 8vo. New York, 1898. Per set, \$6.00 *net*.

The biography of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last of the Signers, has never before been fully written. It is believed that the publication of his letters and papers, with a detailed account of his public services, will be acceptable to all students of American history, and will enhance and substantiate the already high reputation of this pure and noble-minded statesman, the peer in character and intellect of any of the great Revolutionary leaders. Charles Carroll's life may be roughly divided into three periods; thirty years, mostly spent abroad, in preparation for the patriotic duties which awaited him; thirty years in the service of his state and country; thirty years in scholarly retirement, where, as a close and interested observer of public events, he remained in touch with the outside world even to the last months almost of his earthly career.

A NARRATIVE
OF THE
INDIAN AND CIVIL WARS
IN
VIRGINIA,
IN THE YEARS 1675 AND 1676.

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE FIRST
VOLUME (SECOND SERIES) OF THE COLLECTIONS OF
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY JOHN ELIOT, No. 5 COURT STREET.
1814.

NO 10 FEBRUARY 1898
COLONIAL TRACTS
Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

COLONIAL TRACTS NO. 1
THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
LETTER FROM THE HON. WILLIAM A. BURWELL, MEMBER OF
CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA, TO THE HON.
JOSIAH QUINCY, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF
MASSACHUSETTS.

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1812.

Dear Sir—The manuscript copy of Bacon and Ingram's Rebellion was found among the papers of the late Captain Nathaniel Burwell of King William county. I have not been able to obtain many particulars from his family relative to it.

At the close of the war he heard of its existence in an old and respectable family of the northern neck of Virginia, and procured it for his amusement; he entertained no doubt of its antiquity, and valued it on that account.

From the appearance of the work, the minute and circumstantial detail of facts, the orthography, and the style, I am perfectly satisfied his opinion was correct. I hope it will be found worthy of a place in the valuable collections of the society to which you belong.

Permit me to offer my best wishes for the success of your labors.

Yours, respectfully,

WILLIAM A. BURWELL,
of Virginia.

THE INDIAN PROCEEDINGS. *

for their own security. They found that their store was too short to endure a long siege, without making empty bellies, and that empty bellies make weak hearts, which always makes an unfit serving man to wait upon the god of war. Therefore they were resolved, before their spirits were down, to do what they could to keep their stores up, as opportunity should befriend them; and although they were by the law of arms (as the case now stood) prohibited the hunting of wild deer, they resolved to see what good might be done by hunting tame horses, which trade became their sport so long that those who came on horseback to the siege began to fear they should be compelled to trot home on foot, and glad if they escaped so, too, for these beleaguered blades made so many sallies, and the besiegers kept such negligent guard, that there were very few days passed without some remarkable mischief. But what can hold out always? Even stone walls yield to the not-to-be gainsaid summons of time. And although it is said that the Indians do the least mind their bellies (as being content with a little) of any people in the world, yet now their bellies began to mind them, and their stomachs, too, which began to be more inclinable to peace than war, which was the cause (no more horse-flesh being to be had) that they sent out six of their Wærowances (chief men) to commence a treaty. What the articles were that they brought along with them to treat of I do not know, but certainly they were so unacceptable to the English that they caused the commissioners' brains to be knocked out for dictating so badly to their tongues, which yet, it is possible, expressed more reason than the English had to prove the lawfulness of this action, being diametrical to the law of arms.

* We regret that the beginning of this manuscript is missing, and that several parts were so much torn that it became necessary to leave vacant spaces. Where the expression is uncertain, but the page not wholly disfigured, we have used *italic letters*.—ED.

This strange action put those in the fort to their trumps, having thus lost some of their prime court cards without a fair dealing. They could not tell what interpretation to put upon it (nay, indeed, nobody else), and very fain they would *understand* why those whom they sent out with a *view to supplicate* a peace should be worse dealt with than those who were sent out with a sword to denounce a war ; but *no one* could be got to make inquiry into the reason of this, . . . which put them upon a resolution to forsake their *station*, and not to expostulate the cause any further. Having *made* this resolution, and destroyed all things in the fort that might be serviceable to the English, they boldly, undiscovered, slip through the league (leaving the English to prosecute the siege as Schogin's wife brooded the eggs that the fox had sucked), in the passing of which they knocked ten men on the head who lay carelessly asleep in their way.

Now, although it might be said that the Indians went their ways empty-handed, in regard they had left all their plunder and wealth behind them in the fort, yet it cannot be thought that they went away empty-hearted, for though that was pretty well drained from its former courage through those inconveniences that they had been subjected to by the siege, yet in the room thereof, rather than the venticles should lie void, they had stowed up so much malice, intermixed with a resolution of revenge for the affront that the English had put upon them in killing their messengers of peace, that they resolved to commence a most barbarous and most bloody war.

The besiegers having spent a great deal of ill-employed time in pecking at the husk, and now finding the shell open, and missing the expected prey, did not a little wonder what was become of the lately impounded Indians, who, though at present they could not be seen, yet it was not long before they were heard of, and felt, too, for in a very short time they had, in a most inhuman manner, murdered no less than sixty innocent people, noways guilty of any actual injury done to these ill-discerning, brutish heathen. By the blood of these poor souls, they thought that the wandering ghosts of those their commissioners, before mentioned, might be atoned and laid down to take their repose in the dismal shades of death, and they, at present, not obliged for to prosecute any further revenge.

Therefore, to prove whether the English were as ready for a peace as themselves, they send their remonstrance in the name of their *chief*, taken by an English interpreter, unto the governor of Virginia, with whom he expostulates in this sort : What ~~was~~ it that moved him to take up arms against him, his *professed* friend, in the behalf of the Marylanders, his professed enemies, contrary to that league made between him and himself ? declares as well his own as subjects' grief to find the Virginians, of friends, without any cause given to become his foes, and to be so eager in their groundless quarrel as to pursue the chase into another's dominions ; complains that his messengers of peace were not only murdered by the English, but the fact countenanced by the governor's connivance, for which, seeing no other way to be satisfied, he had revenged himself by killing ten for one of the Virginians, such being the disproportion between his great men murdered and those by his command slain ; that now, this being done, if that his honor would allow him a valuable satisfaction for the damage he had sustained by the war, and no more concern himself in the Marylanders' quarrel, he was content to renew and confirm the ancient league of amity, otherways himself and those whom he had engaged to his interests, and their own, were resolved to fight it out to the last man.

These proposals not being assented to by the English, as being derogatory and point blank both to honor and interest, these Indians draw in others, formerly in subjection to the Virginians, to their aid, which, being conjoined, in separate and united parties, they daily committed abundance of unguarded and unrevenged murders upon the English, which they perpetrated in a most barbarous and horrid manner. By which means abundance of the frontier plantations became either depopulated by the Indian settlers or deserted by the planters' fears, who were compelled to forsake their abodes to find security for their lives, which they were not to part with in the hands of the Indians but under the worst of torments. For these brutish and inhuman brutes, lest their cruelties might not be thought cruel enough, devised a hundred ways to torture and torment those poor souls with, whose wretched fate it was to fall into their unmerciful hands. For some, before they would deprive them of their lives, they

Cruelties of
the Indians.

would take a great deal of time to deprive them first of their skins, and if their life had not, through the anguish of their pain, forsaken their tormented bodies, they *with their clubs knocked out their teeth* (or some instrument), tear off the nails of *their hands* and their toes, which put the poor sufferer to a *woeful condition*. One was *prepared for the flames at Jamestown*, who endured much, but found means to escape for lest their deaths should be attributed to some more merciful hands than theirs, to put all out of question, they would leave some of those brutish marks upon their defenceless bodies, that they might testify it could be none but they who had committed the fact.

And now it was that the poor, distressed, and doubly afflicted planters began to curse and execrate that ill-managed business at the fort. Their cries were reiterated again and again, both to God and to man for relief. But no appearance of long-wished-for safety arising in the horizon of their hopes, they were ready, could they have told which way, to leave all and forsake the colony rather than to stay and be exposed to the cruelties of the barbarous heathen.

At last it was concluded as a good expedient for to put the country in a good degree of safety, to plant forts upon the frontiers, thinking thereby to put a stop to the Indians' excursions, which, after the expense of a great deal of time and charge, being finished, came short of the designed ends. For the Indians quickly found out where the mouse-traps were set, and for what purpose, and so resolved to keep out of the way of their danger, which they might easy enough do without any detriment to their designs. For though hereby they were compelled to go, it is possible, a little about, yet they never thought much of their labor so long as they were not debarred from doing mischief, which was not in the power of these forts to prevent. For if that the English did at any time know that there were more ways into the wood than one to kill deer, the Indians found more, a thousand out of the wood, to kill men, and not come near the danger of the forts either.

The small good that was by most expected, and now by them experienced, from those useless fabrics (or castles, *if so we say*), excited a marvelous discontent among the people.

Forts to be
built.

Not valued by
the Indians.

Some thought the charge would be great, and the benefit little.
. . . . It rent the hearts of many that they should be compelled to work all day, nay, all the year for to reward those mole-catchers at the fort, nobody knew for what, and at night could not find a place of safety to lie down in to rest their weary bones, for fear they should be shattered all to pieces by the Indians; upon which consideration they thought it best to petition the downfall of these useless, and like to be, chargeable fabrics, from whose continuance they could neither expect profit nor safety.

But for the effecting this business they found themselves under a very great disadvantage, for though it may be more easy to cast down than erect well-cemented structures, yet the rule doth not hold good in all cases.

The forts disliked by the English.

For it is to be understood that these forts were contrived either by the sole command of the governor, or otherwise by the advice of those whose judgments, in these affairs, he approved of, either of which was now, they being done, his own immediate act, as they were done in his name, which to have undone at the simple request of the people had been in effect to have undone the repute he always held in the people's judgment for a wise man; and better that they should suffer some small inconveniences than that he should be accounted less discerning than those who till now were counted more than half blind. Besides, how should he satisfy his honor of the undertakers of the work. If the people's petition be granted, they must be disappointed, which would be little less than an undoing to them also in their expectation of profit to be raised from the work. Hereby the people quickly found themselves in an error, when that they apprehended what a strong foundation the forts were erected upon, honor and profit, against which all their sapping and mining had no power to overturn. They having no other ingredients to make up their fireworks with but prayers and misspent tears and entreaties, which having vented to no purpose, and finding their condition every whit as bad, if not worse, as before the forts were made, they resolved to

BACON'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE people chose Col. Bacon their general, which post he accepted. He was a man of quality and merit, brave and eloquent, became much endeared, not so much for what he had yet done as the cause of their affections, as for what they expected he would do to deserve their devotion ; while with no common zeal they sent up their reiterated prayers, first to himself and next to Heaven, that he may become their guardian angel, to protect them from the cruelties of the Indians, against whom this gentleman had a perfect antipathy.

Bacon appears
against the In-
dians.

It seems that at the first rise of the war this gentleman had made some overtures unto the governor for a commission to go and put a stop to the Indians' proceedings. But the governor at present, either not willing to commence the quarrel (on his part) till more suitable reasons presented for to urge his more severe prosecution of the same, against the heathen, or that he doubted Bacon's temper, as he appeared popularly inclined ; a constitution not being consistent with the times or the people's dispositions, being generally discontented for want of timely provisions against the Indians, or for annual impositions laid upon them, too great, as they said, for them to bear, and against which they had some considerable time complained

Bacon advan-
ceth against
the Indians.

without the least redress ; for these, or some other reasons, the governor refused to comply with Bacon's proposals. Which he, looking upon as undervaluing as well to his parts as a disparagement to his pretensions, he, in some elated and passionate expressions, sware, commission or no commission, the next man or woman he heard of that should be killed by the Indians, he would go out against them, though but twenty men would adventure the service with him. Now it so unhappily fell out that the next person that the Indians did kill was one of his own family. Whereupon, having got together about seventy or ninety persons, most good housekeepers, well armed, and seeing that he could not legally procure a commission (after some strugglings with the governor), *some of his best friends* who condemned his enterprises, he applies himself.

.

The governor could not bear this insolent deportment of Bacon, *and spake freely against him and condemned his proceedings*. Which . . . instead of seeking means to appease his anger, they devised means to increase it, by framing specious pretences which they grounded upon the boldness of Bacon's actions and the people's affections. They began, some of them, to have Bacon's merits in mistrust, as a luminary that threatened an eclipse to their rising glories ; for though he was but a young man, yet they found that he was master and owner of those induements which constitute a complete man, as to intrinsical wisdom to apprehend and discretion to choose. By which embellishments, if he should continue in the governor's favor, of seniors they might become juniors, while their younger brother, through the nimbleness of his wit, might steal away that blessing which they accounted their own by birthright. This rash proceeding of Bacon, if it did not undo himself by his failing in the enterprise, might chance to undo them in the affections of the people ; which to prevent, they thought it conduceable to their interest and establishment for to get the governor in the mind to proclaim him a rebel, as knowing that once being done, since it could not be done but in and by the governor's name, it must needs breed bad blood between Bacon and Sir William, not easily to be purged. For though Sir William might forgive what Bacon as yet had acted, yet it might be questionable whether Bacon might forget what Sir William had done. However, according to their desires, Bacon and all his adherents was proclaimed a rebel May the 29th, and forces raised to reduce him to his duty ; with which the governor advanced from the middle plantation * to find him out and if need was to fight him, if the Indians had not knocked him and those that were with him in the head, as some were in hope they had done, and which by some was earnestly desired.

After some days the governor retracts his march, a journey of some thirty or forty miles, to meet the assembly now ready to set down at our metropolis, while Bacon in the meanwhile meets with the Indians, upon whom he falls with abundance of resolution and gallantry (as his own party relates it) in their fastness, killing a

Forces raised
to reduce Bacon.

Bacon meets
with the Indians.

* Williamsburg. See Beverly's History of Virginia.

great many and blowing up their magazine of arms and powder to a considerable quantity, if *we may judge from himself*, no less than four thousand weight. This being done, and *all his* provisions spent, he returns home, and *while here* submits himself to be chosen burgess of the county in which he did live, contrary to his *qualifications* take him as he was formerly one of the council of state or, as he was now a proclaimed rebel. However, he applies himself to the performance of that trust reposed in him by the people, if he might be admitted into the house. But this not faring according to his desire, though according to his expectation, and he remaining in his sloop, then at anchor

Bacon taken
prisoner.

before the town, in which was about thirty gentlemen besides himself, he was there surprised and made prisoner with the rest, some being put into irons, in which condition they remained some time, till all things were fitted for the trial. Which being brought

Brought upon
his trial and
acquitted.

to a day of hearing, before the governor and council, Bacon was not only acquitted and pardoned all misdemeanors, but restored to the council table as before; and not only this, but promised to have a commission signed the Monday following (this was Saturday), as general for the Indian war, to the universal satisfaction of the people, who passionately desired the same, witnessed by the general acclamations of

all then in town.

And here who can do less than wonder at the mutable and impermanent deportments of that blind goddess, Fortune, who in the morning leads man with disgraces, and ere night crowns him with honors; sometimes depressing, and again elevating, as her fickle humor is to smile or frown, of which this gentleman's fate was a kind of epitome in the several vicissitudes and changes he was subjected to in a very few days. For in the morning, before his trial, he was in his enemy's hopes and friends' fears judged for to receive the guerdon due to a rebel (and such he was proclaimed to be), and ere night crowned the darling of the people's hopes and desires, as the only man fit in Virginia to put a stop to the bloody resolution of the heathen. And yet again, as a fuller manifestation of fortune's inconstancy, within two or three days the people's

hopes and his desires were both frustrated by the governor's refusing to sign the promised commission. At which being disgusted, though he dissembled the same as well as he could, he begs leave of the governor to dispense with his services at the council table, to visit his *wife, who, as she had informed him, was indisposed*, which request the governor (after some contest with his own thoughts) granted, contrary to the advice of some about him, who suspected Bacon's designs, and that it was not so much his lady's sickness as the troubles of a distempered mind which caused him to withdraw to his own house, and that this was the truth, which in a few days was manifested, when that he returned to town with five hundred men in arms.

The governor
refuses to sign
the commission.

Bacon dis-
gusted.

The governor did not want intelligence of Bacon's designs, and therefore sent out his summons for York train-bands to reinforce his guards then at town. But the time was so short, not above twelve hours' warning, and those that appeared at the rendezvous made such a slender number, that under four ensigns there was not mustered above one hundred soldiers, and not one-half of them sure neither, and all so sluggish in their march, that before they could reach town, by a great deal, Bacon had entered the same and by force obtained a commission, calculated to the height of his own desires. With which commission being invested, such as it was, he makes ready his provisions, fills up his companies to the designed number (five hundred in all), and so applies himself to those services the country expected from him. And, first, for the securing the same against the excursions of the Indians in his absence, and such might be expected, he commissioned several persons such as he could confide in, in every respective county, with select companies of well-armed men, to ravage the forests, thickets, swamps, and all such suspected places where Indians might have any shelter for the doing of mischief. Which proceedings of his put so much courage into the planters that they begun to apply themselves to their accustomed employments in their plantations, which till now they durst not do, for fear of being knocked in the head, as God knows too many were before these orders were observed.

Bacon returns
to town at the
head of five
hundred men,
and forceth a
commission.

While the general (for so was Bacon now denominated by virtue of his commission) was sedulous in these affairs, and fitting his provisions, about the head of York river, in order to his advance against the Indians, the governor was steering quite different courses. He was once more persuaded (but for what reasons not visible) to proclaim Bacon a rebel again, and now, since his absence afforded an advantage to raise the country upon him, so soon as he should return tired and exhausted by his toil and labor in the Indian war. For the putting this council in execution, the governor steps over in Gloster county (a place the best replenished for men, arms, and affection of any county in Virginia), all which the governor summons to give him a meeting at a place and day assigned; where being met, according to summons, the governor's proposals was so much disrelished by the whole convention, that they all disbanded to their own abodes, after their promise passed to stand by and assist the governor against all those who should go about to wrong his person or debase his authority; unto which promise they annexed or subjoined several reasons why they thought it not convenient at present to declare themselves against Bacon, as he was now advancing against the common enemy, who had in a most barbarous manner murdered some hundreds of their dear brethren and countrymen, and would, if not prevented by God and the endeavors of good men, do their utmost for to cut off the whole colony.

The Gloster
men's protest-
ation.

Therefore did they think that it would be a thing inconsistent with right reason if that they, in this desperate conjuncture of time, should go and engage themselves one against another; from the result of which proceedings, nothing could be expected but ruin and destruction unto both, to the one and other party, since it might reasonably be conceived that while they should be exposing their breasts against one another's weapons, the barbarous and common enemy, who would make his advantages by our disadvantages, should be upon their backs to knock out their brains. But if it should so happen as they did hope would never happen, that the general, after the Indian war was finished, should attempt anything against his honor's person or government, that they would rise up in arms, with a joint consent, for the preservation of both.

Since the governor could obtain no more, he was at present to rest himself contented with this, while those who had advised him to these undertakings were not a little dissatisfied to find the event not answer their expectations. But he at present, seeing there was no more to be done, since he wanted a power to have that done which was esteemed the main of the affairs now in hand to be done, namely, the gaining of the Gloster men, to do what he would have done, he thought it best to do what he had a power to do, and that was once more to proclaim Bacon a traitor, which was performed in all public places of meetings in these parts. The noise of which proclamation, after that it had passed the admiration of all that were not acquainted with the reasons that moved his honor to do what he had now done, soon reached the general's ears, not yet stopped up from listening to apparent dangers.

Bacon pro-
claimed a
traitor.

This strange and unexpected news put him, and some with him, shrewdly to their trumps, believing that a few such deals or shuffles (call them what you please) might quickly wring the cards and game, too, out his hand. He perceived that he was fallen like the corn between the stones, so that if he did not look the better about him he might chance be ground to powder. He knew that to have a certain enemy in his front, and more than uncertain friends in his rear, portended no great security from a violent death, and that there could be no great difference between his being wounded to death in his breast with bows and arrows or in the back with guns and musket bullets. He did see that there was an absolute necessity of destroying the Indians for the preservation of the English, and that there was some care to be taken for his own and soldiers' safety, otherwise that work must be ill done where the laborers are made cripples and compelled, instead of a sword, to betake themselves to a crutch.

It vexed him to the heart (as he was heard to say) for to think that while he was hunting wolves, tigers, and foxes, which daily destroyed our harmless sheep and lambs, that he, and those with him, should be pursued, with a full cry, as a more savage or a no less ravenous beast. But to put all out of doubt, and himself in some degree of safety, since he could not tell but that some whom he left behind might not more

desire his death than to hear that by him the Indians were destroyed, he forthwith (after a short consultation held with some of his soldiers) countermarches his army, and in a trice *came up with them* at the middle plantation, * a place situated in the very heart of the country.

The first thing that Bacon fell upon (after that he had settled himself at the middle plantation), was *prepare his remonstrance*, and that as well against a certain *anonymous* paper of the twenty-ninth of May, as in answer to the governor's proclamation. Putting both papers upon *these declarations*, he asks whether persons wholly devoted to their king and country, haters of all sinister and by-respects, aiming only at their country's good, and endeavoring to the *utmost of their* power, to the hazard of their lives and fortunes, *that they might* destroy those that are in arms against their king and *country*, men who never plotted, contrived, nor endeavored *any* indiscretion, detriment, or wrong of any of his majesty's *subjects*, in their lives, names, fortunes, or estates, can deserve the appellation of rebels and traitors.

He cites the whole country to testify his and his soldiers' peaceable behavior; upbraids some in authority with the meanness of their parts; others, now wealthy, with the meanness of their estates when they first came into the country; and questions by what just ways or means they have obtained the same, and whether they have not been the sponges that have sucked up and devoured the common treasury? Questions what arts, sciences, schools of learning, or manufactures have been promoted by any now in authority? Justifies his aversion, in general, against the Indians, upbraids the governor for maintaining their quarrel (though never so unjust) against the Christian rights and interests; his refusing to admit an Englishman's oath against an Indian, when that Indian's word would be sufficient proof against an Englishman. Saith something against the governor about the beaver trade as being a monopoly.

Arraigns one Colonel Cole's assertion *for saying* that the English are bound to protect the Indians at the hazard of their blood; and so concludes with an appeal to king and parliament,

Bacon's declaration.

* Williamsburg.

where he *has no doubt* that his and the people's cause will be impartially heard.

After this manner the game begins. *This declaration* of Bacon was the prelude to the following chapter. . . .

His next work was to invite all that had any regard to themselves or love to their country, their wives, children, and other relations, to give him a meeting at his quarters, at a day named, then and there to consider how to put the country into some degree of safety, and to endeavor to stop those imminent dangers now threatening the destruction of the whole colony, through the bloody proceedings of the Indians ; and, as he said, by Sir William's doting and irregular actings. Desiring of them not to sit still in this common time of calamity, with their hands in their bosoms, or as unconcerned spectators stand gazing upon their approaching ruin and not lend a hand to squelch those flames now likely to consume them and theirs to ashes. According to the summons, most of the prime gentlemen of these parts, whereof some were of the council of state, gave Bacon a meeting at his quarters at the assigned time. Where being met (after a long harangue by him made, much of the nature of and to explain the summons), he desired them to take the same so far into their consideration that there might, by their wisdom, some expedient be found out, as well for the country's security against Sir William's irregular proceedings as that he and the army might unmolestedly prosecute the Indian war. Adding, that neither himself nor those under his command thought it a thing consistent with reason or common sense to advance against the common enemy and in the meantime want assurance, when they had done the work abroad, not to have their throats cut when they should return home by those who had set them to work. Being confident that Sir William and some others with him, through a sense of their unwarrantable actions, would do what was possible to be done, not only to destroy himself, but others privy to their knavery, now engaged in the Indian service with him.

After that Bacon had urged what he thought meet for the better carrying on of those affairs now hammering in his head, it was concluded by the whole convention that for the establishing of the general and army in a consistency of safety, and that as well upon his march against the Indians as when he

should return from the service, and also for the keeping of the country in peace in his absence, that there should be a test or recognition drawn and subscribed to by the whole country, which should oblige them, and every of them, not to be aiding or assisting Sir William Berkeley (for now he would not afford him the title of governor) in any sort to the molestation, hindrance, or detriment of the general and army. This being assented to, the clerk of the assembly was ordered to put the same into form. Which, while he was doing, the general would needs have another branch added to the former, viz., that the people should not only be obliged not to be aiding Sir

An oath projected.

W. B. against the general, but the force of this recognition should be obliged to rise in arms against him if he with armed forces should offer to resist the general or disturb the country's peace in his absence, and not only so (but to make the engagement *a-la-mode* rebellion), he would have it added, that if any forces should be sent out of England at the request of Sir William, or otherwise to his aid, that they were likewise to be opposed till such time as the country's cause should be sent *home* and reported to his most sacred majesty.

These two last branches of this bugbear did marvelously startle the people, especially the very last of all; yet to give the general satisfaction how willing they were to give him all the security that lay in their power, they seemed willing to subscribe the two first as they stood single, but not to any if the last must be joined with them. But the general used or urged a great many reasons for signing the whole engagement, as it was presented in the three conjoined branches, otherwise no security could be expected, neither to the country, army, nor himself. Therefore he was resolved, if that they would not do what he did judge so reasonable and necessary to be done, in and about the premises, that he would surrender up his commission to the assembly and let the country find some other servants to go abroad and do their work.

For, says he, it is to be considered that Sir William hath already proclaimed me a rebel, and it is not unknown to himself that I both can and shall charge him with no less than treason. And it is not only myself that must be and is concerned in what shall be

Bacon's reasons for the taking the oath.

charged against him, but several gentlemen in the country besides, who now are and ever will be against his interest; and of those that shall adhere to his illegal proceedings, of which he being more than ordinarily sensible, it cannot in common reason be otherwise conceived but that he, being assisted by those forces now employed, that they shall not be wholly employed to the destruction of all those capable to frame an accusation against him to his sacred majesty. Neither can it be reasonably apprehended that he will ever condescend to any friendly accommodation with those that shall subscribe to all or any part of this engagement, unless such or such persons shall be surrendered up to his mercy to be proceeded against as he shall see fit; and then how many or few those may be, whom he shall make choice of to be sent into the other world that he may be rid of his fears in this, may be left to consideration.

Many things were, by many of those who were of this meeting, urged pro and con concerning the taking or not taking of the engagement. But such was the resolute temper of the general against all reasoning to the contrary, that the whole must be swallowed or else no good would be done. In the urging of which he used such subtile and specious pretences; sometimes for the pressing and not to be dispensed with necessity, in regard of those fears the whole colony was subjected to through the daily murders perpetrated by the Indians, and then again opening the harmlessness of the oath, as he would have it to be, and which he managed solely against a great many of those counted the wisest men in the country, with so much art and sophistical dexterity that at length there was little said by any against the same. Especially when the gunner of York fort arrived, imploring aid to secure the same against the Indians, adding that there were a great number of poor people fled into it for protection, which could not be unless there was some speedy course taken to reinforce the said fort with munition and arms, otherwise it and those fled to it would go near hand to fall into the power of the heathen.

The general was somewhat startled at this news, and accordingly expostulated the same, how it could possibly be that the most considerable fortress in the country should be in danger to be surprised by the Indians. But being told that

the governor, the day before, had caused all the arms and ammunition to be conveyed out of the fort into his own vessel, with which he was sailed forth of the country, as it was thought, it is strange to think what impression this story made upon the people's apprehensions. In earnest, this action did stagger a great many, otherwise well inclined to Sir William, who could not tell what constructions to put upon it. However, this was no great disadvantage to Bacon's designs; he knew well enough how to make his advantages out of this, as well as he did out of the Gloster business, before mentioned, by framing and stumping out to the people's apprehensions what commentaries or interpretations he pleased, upon the least oversight by the governor committed; which he managed with so much cunning and subtilty that the people's minds became quickly flexible and apt to receive any impression or similitude that his arguments should represent to their ill-discerning judgments; insomuch that the oath became now more smooth and glib to be swallowed, even by those

The oath
taken.

who had the greatest repugnance against it; so that there were no more discourses used either for restrictions or enlargements. Only this salvo was granted unto those who would claim the benefit of it (and some did so), yet not expressed in the written copy, viz., that if there was anything in the same of such dangerous consequence that it might taint the subscribers' allegiance, that then they should stand absolved from all and every part of the said oath; unto which the general gave his consent (and certainly he had too much cunning to deny or gainsay it) saying, "God forbid that it should be otherwise meant or intended;" adding that himself (and army, by his command) had, some few days before, taken the oath of allegiance, therefore it could not rationally be imagined that either himself or they would go about to act or do anything contrary to the meaning of the same.

Bad ware requires a dark store, while sleek and pounce inveigles the chapman's judgment. Though the first subscribers were indulged the liberty of entering their exceptions against the strict letter of the oath, yet others who were to take the same before the respective justices of peace in their several jurisdictions were not to have the same latitude. For the power of affording cautions and exceptions was solely in

the imposer, not in those who should hereafter administer the oath, whereby the aftertakers were obliged to swallow the same, though it might hazard their choking, as it stood in the very letter thereof. Neither can I apprehend what benefit could possibly accrue more unto those who were indulged the aforesaid privilege than to those who were debarred the same, since both subscribed the engagement as it stood in the letter, not as it was in the meaning of the subscriber. It is true, before God and their own consciences it might be pleadable, but not at the bar of human proceedings, without a favorable interpretation put upon it by those who were to be the judges.

While Bacon was contriving and imposing this illegal oath, for to secure himself against the governor, the governor was, no less solicitous to find out means to secure himself against Bacon. Therefore, as the only place of security within the colony to keep out of Bacon's reach, he sails over to Accomack. This place is sequestered from the main part of Virginia through the interposition of the great Bay of Chesapeake, being itself an isthmus and commonly called the eastern shore. It is bounded on the east with the main ocean, and on the southwest with the aforesaid bay, which runs up into the country navigable for the biggest ships more than two hundred and forty miles, and so, consequently, not approachable from the other parts of Virginia but by water, without surrounding the head of the said bay,—a labor of toil, time, and danger, in regard of the way and habitations of the Indians.

It was not long before Bacon was informed where the governor had taken sanctuary, neither was he ignorant what it was that moved him to do what he had done. He did also apprehend that as he had found the way out, he could, when he saw his own time, find the way in again; and though he went forth with an empty hand, he might return with a full fist. For the preventing of which, as he thought, he despatched away one Esquire Bland, a gentleman of an active and stirring disposition, and no great admirer of Sir William's goodness; and with him in commission one Captain Carver, a person acquainted with navigation, and one, as they say, indebted to Sir William before he died for his life upon a double account, with forces

Sir William
sails for Accomack.

Bland and
Carver sent
to Accomack.

in two ships, either to block Sir William up in Accomack, or otherwise to inveigle the inhabitants, thinking that all the country, like the friar in the bush, must needs be so mad as to dance to their pipe to surrender him up into their hands.

Bacon having sent Bland and the rest to do this service, once more re-enters upon his Indian march ; after that he had taken order for the convening an

Bacon advances against the Indians.

assembly, to sit down on the fourth of September, the summons being authenticated, as they would have it, under the hands of four of the council of state ; and the reason of the convention to manage the affairs of the country in his absence, lest, as he said, while he went abroad to destroy the wolves, the foxes in the meantime should come and devour the sheep. He had not marched many miles from his headquarters but that news came post haste that Bland and the rest with him were snapped at Accomack, betrayed, as some of their own party related, by Captain Carver ; but those who are best able to render an account of this affair do aver, that there was no other treason made use of but their want of discretion, assisted by the juice of the grape. Had it been otherwise the governor would never have rewarded the service with the gift of a halter, which he honored

Carver taken and hanged.

Carver with suddenly after his surprisal. Bland was put in irons and ill-intreated, as it was said ; most of the soldiers owned the governor's cause by entering themselves into his service ; those that refused were made prisoners and promised a releasement at the price of Carver's fate.

The governor being blessed with this good service, and the better service, in that it was effected without bloodshed, and being informed that Bacon was entered upon his Indian march, ships himself for the western shore, being

Sir W. ships himself for the western shore.

assisted with five ships and ten sloops, in which, as it is said, were about a thousand soldiers. The news whereof outstripping his canvas wings, soon reached the ears of those left by Bacon to see the king's peace kept by resisting the king's vicegerent. For before that the governor could get over the water, two fugitives were got to land, sent, as may be supposed, from some in Accomack, spirited for the general's quarrel, to inform those here, of the

same principles, of the governor's strength, and upon what terms his soldiers were to fight. And first, they

were to be rewarded with those men's estates who had taken Bacon's oath, catch that catch could.

Upon what terms the Accomackians were to fight.

Secondly, that they and their heirs for twenty-one years should be discharged from all imposition, excepting church dues, and lastly, twelve pence per day during the whole time of service. And that it was further decreed that all servants whose masters were under the general's colors, or that had subscribed the engagement, should be set free and enjoy the forementioned benefits, if that they would, in arms, own the governor's cause. And that this was the whole truth and nothing but the truth, the two men before mentioned deposed before Capt. Thorp, one of the justices of the peace for York county, after that one Colonel Searsbrooke had more prudently declined the admitting these two scoundrels to the test. Whether these fellows were in the right or in the wrong, as to what they had narrated, I know not, but this is certain: whether the same was true or false, it produced the effects of truth in people's minds; who hereby became so much distracted in their resolutions, that they could not tell at present which way to turn themselves; while their tongues expressed no other language but what sounded forth fears, wishes, and execrations, as their apprehensions or affections dictated; all looking upon themselves as a people utterly undone, being equally exposed to the governor's displeasure, and the Indians' bloody cruelties; some cursing the cause of their approaching destruction, looking upon the oath to be no small ingredient helping to fill up the measure of their miseries; others wishing the general's presence as the only rock of safety, while others looked upon him as only the quicksands ordained to swallow up and sink the ship that should set them on shore, or keep them from drowning in the whirlpool of confusion.

The people's perplexed condition.

In the midst of these fears and perturbations, the Governor arrives with his fleet of five ships and ten sloops, all well manned, or appeared to be so, before the town; into which the governor sends his summons (it being possessed by seven or eight hundred Baconians) for a rendition, with a free and ample pardon to all that would

Sir W. arrives at town, September 7.

decline Bacon's interest and own his, excepting one Mr. Drummond, and one Mr. Larance, a colonel, and both active promoters of Bacon's designs. Which is a most apparent argument that what those two men, before mentioned, had sworn to, was a mere pack of untruths. This his honor's proclamation was acceptable to most in town; while others again would not trust to it, fearing to meet with some after-claps of revenge. Which diversity of opinions put them all into a resolution of deserting the place, as not tenable (but indeed had it been fortified, yet they had no commission to fight), while they had the liberty of so doing, before it should be wholly invested; which that night, in the dark, they put in execution, every one shifting for himself with no ordinary fear, in the greatest haste possible, for fear of being sent after. And that some of them were possessed with no ordinary fear, may be manifested in Colonel Larence, whose spirits were so much distracted at his apprehensions of being one excepted in the governor's act of grace, that he forsook his own house, with all his wealth and a fair cupboard of plate entire standing, which fell into the governor's hands the next morning.

The Baconians forsake the town.

The town being thus forsaken by the Baconians, his honor enters the same the next day, about noon, where, after he had rendered thanks unto God for his safe arrival (which he forgot not to perform upon his knees at his first footing the shore), he applies himself not only to secure what he had got possession of, but to increase and enlarge the same, to his best advantage. And knowing that the people of old usually painted the god of war with a belly to be fed, as well as with hands to fight, he began to cast about for the bringing in of provisions for to feed his soldiers; and in the next place for soldiers, as well to reinforce his strength within as to enlarge his quarters abroad. But, as the saying is, man may propose, but God will dispose; when that his honor thought himself so much at liberty, that he might have the liberty to go when and where he pleased, his expectations became very speedily and in a moment frustrated.

For Bacon, having done his business against the Indians, or at least so much as he was able to do, having marched his men with a great deal of toil and hazard some hundreds of

miles, one way and another, killing some and taking others prisoners, and having spent his provisions, draws in his forces within the verge of the English plantations, from whence he dis-miseth the greatest part of his army to gather strength against the next designed march, which was no sooner done but he encounters the news of the governor's being arrived at town. Of which being informed, he with a marvelous celerity (out-stripping the swift wing of fame) marcheth those few men now with him, which he had only reserved as a guard to his person, and in a trice blocks up the governor in town, to the general astonishment of the whole country, especially when that Bacon's numbers were known, which at this time did not exceed above a hundred and fifty, and these not above two-thirds at work neither; an action of so strange an aspect, that whoever took notice of it could not choose but think but that the Accomackians either intended to receive their promised pay, without desert, or otherwise to establish such signal testimonies of their cowardice or disaffections, or both, that posterity might stand and gaze at their wretched stupidity.

Bacon blocks
the Governor
up in town.

Bacon soon perceived what easy work he was likely to have in this service, and so began to set as small an esteem upon these men's courages, as they did upon their own credits. He saw by the prologue what sport might be expected in the play, and so began to dispose of his affairs accordingly. Yet not knowing but that the paucity of his numbers being once known to those in town, it might raise their hearts to a degree of courage having so much the odds, and that many times numbers prevail against resolution, he thought it not amiss, since the lion's strength was too weak, to strengthen the same with the fox's brains; and how this was to be effected you shall hear.

For immediately he dispatcheth two or three parties of horse, and about so many in each party, for more he could not spare, to bring into the camp some of the prime gentlewomen, whose husbands were in town; where, when arrived, he sends one of them to inform her own and the others' husbands for what purposes he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be placed in

Bacon sends
for several
gentlewomen
into the camp,
and for what.

the forefront of his men at such time as those in town should sally forth upon him.

The poor gentlewomen were mightily astonished at this project; neither were their husbands void of amazement at this subtle invention. If Mr. Fuller thought it strange that the devil's blackguard should be enrolled God's soldiers, they made it no less wonderful that their innocent and harmless wives should thus be entered a white guard to the devil. This action was a method in war that they were not well acquainted with (no, not those the best informed in military affairs), that before they could come to pierce their enemies' sides, they must be obliged to dart their weapons through their wives' breasts; by which means though they, in their own persons, might escape without wounds, yet it might be the lamentable fate of their better half to drop by gunshot, or otherwise be wounded to death.

Whether it was these considerations or some others, I do not know, that kept their swords in their scabbards; but this is manifest, that Bacon knit more knots by his own head in one day than all the hands in town were able to untie in a whole week, while these ladies' white aprons became of greater force to keep the besieged from falling out than his works, a pitiful trench, had strength to repel the weakest shot that should have been sent into his league, had he not made use of this invention.

For it is to be noted that right in his front, where he was to lodge his men, the governor had planted three great guns for to play point blank upon his men, as they were at work, at about one hundred or one hundred and fifty paces distance; and then again, on his right hand, almost close aboard the shore, lay the ships, with their broadsides, to thunder upon him if he should offer to make an onslaught, this being the only place, by land, for him to make his entry into the town. But for your better satisfaction, or rather those whom you may show this narrative to, who have never been upon the place, take this short description.

The description
of James-
town.

The place on which the town is built is a perfect peninsula, or tract of land almost wholly encompassed with water, having on the south side the river (formerly Powheten, now called James

river), three miles broad, encompassed on the north, from the east point, with a deep creek, ranging in a semicircle to the west, within ten paces of the river; and there, by a small isthmus, tacked to the continent. This island (for so it is denominated) hath for longitude, east and west, near upon two miles, and for latitude about half so much, bearing in the whole compass about five miles, little more or less. It is low ground, full of marshes and swamps, which make the air, especially in the summer, insalubrious and unhealthy. It is not at all replenished with springs of fresh water, and that which they have in their wells is brackish, ill-scented, penurious, and not grateful to the stomach; which render the place improper to endure the commencement of a siege. The town is built much about the middle of the south line, close upon the river, extending east and west, about three quarters of a mile; in which is comprehended some sixteen or eighteen houses, most, as is the church, built of brick, fair and large; and in them about a dozen families, for all the houses are not inhabited, getting their livings by keeping of ordinaries, at extraordinary rates.

The governor, understanding that the gentlewomen at the league were, by order, drawn out of danger, resolved if possible to beat Bacon out of his trench; which he thought might easily be performed, now that his guardian angels had forsaken his camp. For the effecting of which he sent forth seven hundred or, as they say, eight hundred of his Accomackians, who (like scholars going to school) went out with heavy hearts, but returned home with light heels; thinking it better to turn their backs upon that storm, that their breasts could not endure to struggle against, for fear of being galled in their sides, or other parts of their bodies, through the sharpness of the weather; which, after a terrible noise of thunder and lightning out of the east, began to blow with a powder and some lead, too, as big as musket bullets, full in their faces, and that with so great a violence that some of them were not able to stand upon their legs, which made the rest betake themselves to their heels, as the only expedient to save their lives; which some amongst them had rather to have lost, than to have owned their safety at the price of such dishonorable rates.

A sally made
upon Bacon.

The governor was extremely disgusted at the ill management of this action, which he expressed in some passionate terms, against those who merited the same. But in earnest, who could expect the event to be otherwise than it was, when at the first notice given for the designed sally to be put in execution, some of the officers made such crabbed faces at the report of the same, that the gunner of York fort did proffer to purchase, for any that would buy, a colonel's or a captain's commission for a chunk of a pipe.

The next day Bacon orders three great guns to be brought into the camp, two whereof he plants upon his trench. The one he sets to work (playing, some call it, who take delight to see stately structures beaten down, and men blown up into the air like shuttle-cocks) against the ships, the other against the entrance into the town, for to open a passage to his intended storm, which now was resolved upon, as he said, and which

The Governor leaves town. was prevented by the governor's forsaking the place and shipping himself once more to Accomack, taking along with him all the townpeople and their goods, leaving all the great guns nailed up and the houses empty for Bacon to enter at his pleasure, and which he did the next morning before day; where, contrary to his hopes, he met with nothing that might satisfy either himself or soldiers' desires, except a few horses, two or three cellars of wine, and some small quantity of Indian corn, with a great many tanned hides.

The governor did not presently leave James river, but rested at an anchor some twenty miles below the town, which made Bacon entertain some thoughts that either he might have a desire to reënter his late-left quarters, or return and block him up as he had Sir William. And that there was some probability Sir William might steer such a course was news from Potomack, a province within the north verge of Virginia, that Colonel Brent was marching at the head of one thousand soldiers toward town in vindication of the governor's quarrel. The better to prevent Sir William's designs, if he had a desire to return, and to hinder his conjunction with

Bacon sets the town on fire. Brent, after he had consulted with his cabinet council, he, in the most barbarous manner, converts the whole town into flames, cinders, and ashes, not

so much as sparing the church, the first that ever was in Virginia.

Having performed this flagitious and sacriligious action (which put the worst of spirits into a horrid consternation at so inhuman a fact), he marches his men to the Green Spring (the governor's house, so named), where having stayed, feasting his army at the governor's cost, two or three days, until he was informed of Sir William's motion, he wafts his soldiers over the river at Tindell's Point ^{Goes over into Gloster.} into Gloster county, taking up his headquarters at Colonel Warner's; from whence he sends out his mandates through the whole county to give him a meeting at the courthouse, there to take the engagement that was first promoted at the middle plantation; for as yet, in this county, it was not admitted. While he was sedulously contriving this affair, one Captain Potter arrived in post haste from Rappahannock with news that Colonel Brent was advancing fast upon him, with a resolution to fight him, at the head of one thousand men, what horse what foot, if he durst stay the commencement. He had no sooner read the letter, when he commands the drums to beat for the gathering of his soldiers under their colors, which being done, he acquaints them with Brent's numbers and resolutions to fight, and then demands theirs; which was cheerfully answered in the affirmative with shouts and acclamations, while the drums thundered a march to meet the promised conflict, the soldiers with abundance of cheerfulness disburdening themselves of all impediments to expedition, order, and good disciplining, excepting their oaths and wenches.

Bacon had not marched above two or three days' journey (and those but short ones, too, as being loth to tire his laborers before they came to their work), when he meets news in post haste that Brent's men, not soldiers, ^{Brent's men forsake him.} had all run away and left him to shift for himself.

For they, having heard that Bacon had beaten the governor out of the town, began to be afraid, if they should come within his reach, that he might beat them out of their lives, and so resolved not to come near him. Colonel Brent was mightily astonished at the departure of his followers, saying that they had forsaken the stoutest man and ruined the fairest

estate in Virginia, which was by their cowardice or disaffections exposed to the mercy of the Baconians. But they being, as they thought, more obliged to look after their own concerns and lives than to take notice either of his valor or estate, or of their own credits, were not to be wrought upon by anything that he could do or say contrary to their own fancies.

This business of Brent's having (like the hogs the devil sheared) produced more noise than wool, Bacon, according to summons, meets the Gloster men at the court house, where appeared some six or seven hundred horse and foot, with their arms. After that Bacon, in a long harangue, had tendered them the engagement (which as yet they had not taken, and now was the only cause of this convention), one Mr. Cole offered the sense of all

The oath tendered to the Gloster men.

the Gloster men there present, which was summed up in their desires not to have the oath imposed upon them, but to be indulged the benefit of neutrality. But this he would not grant, telling of them that in this, their request, they appeared like the worst of sinners, who had a desire to be saved with the righteous, and yet would do nothing whereby they might obtain their salvation, and so offered to go away, when one Colonel Gouge, of his party, calls to him and told him that he had only spoken to the horse, meaning the troopers, and not to the foot. Bacon, in some passion, replied, he had spoken to the men and not to the horses, having left that service for him to do, because one beast would best understand the meaning of another. And because a minister, one Mr. Wading, did not only refuse to take the engagement, but encouraged

Mr. Wading, a minister, imprisoned.

others to make him their example, Bacon committed him to the guard, telling of him that it was his place to preach in the church, not in the camp. In the first he might say what he pleased, but in the last he was to say no more than what should please him, unless he could fight to better purpose than he could preach.

The Gloster men, having taken the engagement (which they did not until another meeting, and in another place), and all the work done on this side the western shore, Bacon thought it not amiss, but worth his labor, to go and see how the Accomackians did. It must be confessed that he was a gentleman of a liberal education, and so, consequently, must

replenished with good manners, which enables and obligeth all civil persons both to remember and repay received courtesies, which made him not to forget those kindnesses the Accomackians bestowed, in his absence, on his friends and their neighbors, the Virginians. And so now he resolved, since he had nothing else to do, for to go and repay their kind-hearted visit. But first he thought good to send them word of his good meaning, that they might not plead want of time, for want of knowledge, to provide a reception answerable to his quality and attendance. This was pretty fair play, but really the Accomackians did not half like it. They would rather his honor would have had the patience to have staid until he had been invited, and then he should have been much more welcome. But this must not hinder his journey; if nothing else intervened they must be troubled with a troublesome guest, as their neighbors had been, for a great while together, to their extraordinary charge and utter undoing.

Bacon designs
to go to Accomack.

But their kind and very merciful fate, to whom they and their posterity must ever remain indebted, observing their cares and fears, by an admirable and ever to be celebrated providence, removed the causes. For Bacon, having for some time been besieged by sickness, and now not able to hold out any longer, all his strength and provisions being spent, surrendered up that fort he was no longer able to keep, into the hands of that grim and all-conquering captain, Death; after that he had implored the assistance of the above-mentioned minister, for the well-making his articles of rendition. The only religious duty, as they say, he was observed to perform during these intrigues of affairs, in which he was so considerable an actor and so much concerned, that rather than he would decline the cause, he became so deeply engaged in the first rise thereof, though much urged by arguments of dehortations by his nearest relations and best friends, that he subjected himself to all those inconveniences that, singly, might bring a man of a more robust frame to his last home.

Bacon dies
October first.

After he was dead he was bemoaned in the following lines, drawn by the man who waited upon his person, as it is said, and who attended his corpse to its burial place; but where

deposited until the general day, not known, only to those who are resolutely silent in that particular. There were many copies of verses made after his departure, calculated to the latitude of their affections who composed them. As a relish taken from both appetites, I have here sent you a couple.

BACON'S EPITAPH, MADE BY HIS MAN.

Death, why so cruel ! what, no other way
 To manifest thy spleen, but thus to slay
 Our hopes of safety, liberty, our all,
 Which, through thy tyranny, with him must fall
 To its late chaos? Had thy rigid force
 Been dealt by retail, and not thus in gross,
 Grief had been silent. Now we must complain,
 Since thou, in him, hast more than thousand slain;
 Whose lives and safeties did so much depend
 On him their life, with him their lives must end.
 If it be sin to think Death bribed can be,
 We must be guilty; say 't was bribery
 Guided the fatal shaft. Virginia's foes,
 To whom for secret crimes just vengeance owes
 Deserved plagues, dreading their just desert,
 Corrupted Death by Parasscelcian art
 Him to destroy, whose well-tried courage such,
 Their heartless hearts, nor arms nor strength could touch.
 Who now must heal those wounds, or stop that blood,
 The heathen made, and drew into a flood?
 Who is it must plead our cause? nor trump, nor drum,
 Nor deputations; these, alas, are dumb,
 And cannot speak. Our arms (though ne'er so strong)
 Will want the aid of his commanding tongue,
 Which conquered more than Cæsar. He o'erthrew
 Only the outward frame; this could subdue
 The rugged works of nature. Souls replete
 With dull chill could he animate with heat
 Drawn forth of reason's 'lembic. In a word,
 Mars and Minerva both in him concurred,
 For arts, for arms, whose pen and sword alike,
 As Cato's did, may admiration strike
 Into his foes; while they confess withal
 It was their guilt styled him a criminal.
 Only this difference does from truth proceed,
 They in the guilt, he in the name must bleed.
 While none shall dare his obsequies to sing
 In deserved measures, until time shall bring
 Truth crowned with freedom and from danger free

To sound his praises to posterity.
 Here let him rest, while we this truth report :
 He's gone from hence unto a higher Court,
 To plead his cause where he by this doth know
 Whether to Cæsar he was friend or foe.

UPON THE DEATH OF G. B.

Whether to Cæsar he was friend or foe?
 Pox take such ignorance, do you not know?
 Can he be friend to Cæsar, that shall bring
 The arms of hell to fight against the king?
 (Treason, Rebellion), then what reason have
 We for to wait upon him to his grave,
 There to express our passions? Wilt not be
 Worse than his crimes, to sing his elegy
 In well-tuned numbers, where each Ella bears
 (To his flagitious name) a flood of tears?
 A name that hath more souls with sorrow fed,
 Than wretched Niobe single tears e'er shed ;
 A name that filled all hearts, all ears, with pain,
 Until blest fate proclaimed Death had him slain.
 Then how can it be counted for a sin
 Though Death (nay though myself) had bribed been,
 To guide the fatal shaft? We honor all
 Who lend a hand unto a traitor's fall.
 What though the well-paid Rochit soundly ply
 And box the pulpit into flattery ;
 Urging his rhetoric and strained eloquence,
 To adorn unconfined filth and excrements ;
 Though the defunct (like ours) ne'er tried
 A well intended deed until he died?
 'T will be nor sin nor shame for us to say
 A two-fold passion checker-works this day
 Of joy and sorrow ; yet the last doth move
 On feet impotent, wanting strength to prove
 (Nor can the art of logic yield relief)
 How joy should be surmounted by our grief.
 Yet that we grieve it cannot be denied,
 But 'tis because he was, not 'cause he died.
 So wept the poor, distressed Ilium dames
 Hearing those named, their city put in flames,
 And country ruin'd. If we thus lament,
 It is against our present joys' consent.
 For if the rule in physics true doth prove,
 Remove the cause, the effect will after move,
 We have outliv'd our sorrows ; since we see
 The causes shifting of our misery.

Nor is 't a single cause, that 's slipped away,
 That made us warble out, a well-a-day.
 The brains to plot, the hands to execute
 Projected ills, Death jointly did non-suit
 At his black bar. And what no bail could save
 He hath committed prisoner to the grave ;
 From whence there's no reprieve. Death, keep him close,
We have too many devils still go loose.

INGRAM'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE lion had no sooner made his exit, but the ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage. Bacon was no sooner removed by the hand of good providence, but another steps in, by the wheel of fickle fortune. The country had, for some time, been guided by a company of knaves, now it was to try how it would behave itself under a fool. Bacon had not long been dead (though it was a long time before some would believe that he was dead) but one Ingram (or Ingram takes up Bacon's Commission. Isgrum, which you will) takes up Bacon's commission, or else, by the pattern of that, cuts him out a new one, and, as though he had been his natural heir, or that Bacon's commission had been granted not only to himself but to his executors, administrators, and assigns, he, in the military court, takes out a probate of Bacon's will and proclaims himself his successor.

This Ingram, when he came first into the country, had got upon his back the title of an esquire, but how he came by it may puzzle all the heralds in England to find out, until he informs them of his right name ; however, by the help of this (and his fine capering, for it is said that he could dance well upon a rope) he capered himself into a fine, though short-lived, estate, by marrying here with a rich widow, valued at some hundreds of pounds.

The first thing that this fine fellow did, after that he was mounted upon the back of his commission, was to spur or switch those who were to pay obedience unto his authority, by getting himself proclaimed general of all the forces now raised, or hereafter to be raised, in Virginia. Which, while it was performing at the head of

Proclaimed
General.

the army, the milksop stood with his hat in his hand, looking as demurely as the great Turk's muftie at the reading of some holy sentence, extracted forth of the Alkoran. The bell-man having done, he put on his hat, and his janissaries threw up their caps, crying out as loud as they could bellow, "God save our new general," hoping, no doubt, that he, in imitation of the great sultan, at his election, would have enlarged their pay, or else have given them leave to have made Jews of the best Christians in the country; but he, being more than half a Jew himself, at present forbade all plunderings but such as he himself should be personally at.

It was not long before the governor (still at Accomack) had intimation of Bacon's death. He had a long time been shut up in the ark, as we may say, and now thought good to send out a winged messenger to see if happily the deluge was any whit abated; and whether any dry ground emerged its head, on which with safety he might set his foot, without danger of being wet-shod in blood; which accordingly he effected, under the command of one Major Beverly, a person calculated to the latitude of the service, which required discretion, courage, and celerity, as qualities wholly subservient to military affairs. And although he returned not with an olive-branch in his mouth, the hieroglyph of peace, yet he went back with the laurel upon his brows, the emblem of conquest and triumph, having snapped up one Colonel Hansford, Beverly takes Hansford. and his party, who kept guard at the house where Colonel Reade did once live. It is said that Hansford, at or a little before the onslaught, had forsaken the capitol of Mars, to pay his oblations in the temple of Venus, which made him the easier prey to his enemies; but this I have only on report, and must not aver it upon my historical reputation. But if it was so, it was the last sacrifice he ever after offered at the shrine of that luxurious deity, for presently after that he came to Accomack, he had the ill luck to be the first Virginian born that died upon a pair of gallows. When that he came to the place of execution, which was about a mile removed from his prison, he seemed very well resolved to undergo the utmost malice of his not over-kind destinies, only complaining of the manner of his death. Being observed neither at the time of his trial, which was by a court martial, nor afterwards, to

supplicate any other favor than that he might be shot like a soldier, and not be hanged like a dog. But it was told him, that what he so passionately petitioned for could not be granted, in that he was not condemned as he was merely a soldier, but as a rebel, taken in arms against the king, whose laws had ordained him that death. During the short time he had to live

Hanford
Executed.

after his sentence he approved to his best advantage for the welfare of his soul, by repentance and contrition for all his sins, in general, excepting his rebellion, which he would not acknowledge; desiring the people at the place of execution to take notice that he died a loyal subject and a lover of his country; and that he had never taken up arms but for the destruction of the Indians, who had murdered so many Christians.

The business being so well accomplished by those who had taken Hansford, did so raise their spirits that they had no sooner delivered their freight at Accomack, but they

Cheisman and
Wilford taken
by Beverly.

hoist their sails and back again to York river, where with a marvelous celerity they surprise one

Major Cheisman and some others, amongst whom one Capt. Wilford, who, it is said, in the bickering lost one of his eyes, at which he seemed little concerned as knowing that when he came to Accomack that, though he had been stark blind, yet the governer would take care for to afford him a guide that should show him the way to the gallows; since he had promised him a hanging, long before, as being one of those that went out with Bacon in his first expedition against the Indians, without a commission.

This Capt. Wilford, though he was but a little man, yet he had a great heart, and was known to be no coward. He had for some years been an interpreter between the English and the Indians, in whose affairs he was well acquainted, which rendered him the more acceptable to Bacon, who made use of him all along in his Indian war. By birth he was the second son of a knight, who had lost his life and estate in the late king's quarrel against the surnamed Long Parliament, which forced him to Virginia (the only city of refuge left in his majesty's dominions, in those times, for distressed cavaliers) to seek his fortunes, which through his industry began to be considerable, if the kindness of his fate had been more permanent, and

not destined his life to so wretched a death. Major Cheisman, before he came to his trial, died in prison, of fear or grief, or bad usage, for all these are reported, and so by one death prevented another more dreadful to flesh and blood.

Cheisman dies
in Prison.

There is one remarkable passage reported of this Major Cheisman's lady, which, because it sounds to the honor of her sex, and consequently of all loving wives, I will not deny it a room in this narrative.

When that the major was brought into the governor's presence, and by him demanded what made him to engage in Bacon's designs, before that the major could frame an answer to the Governor's demand, his wife steps in and told his honor that it was her provocations that made her husband join in the cause that Bacon contended for; adding, that if he had not been influenced by her instigations, he had never done that which he had done. Therefore, upon her bended knees, she desired of his honor, that since what her husband had done was by her means, and so, by consequence, she most guilty, that she might be hanged and he pardoned. Though the governor did know that what she had said was near to the truth, yet he said little to her request, only telling of her that she was a w——. But his honor was angry, and therefore this expression must be interpreted as the effects of his passion, not his meaning; for it is to be understood in reason, that there is not any woman who has so small affection for her husband as to dishonor him by her dishonesty, and yet retain such a degree of love that rather than he should be hanged she will be content to submit her own life to the sentence, to keep her husband from the gallows.

Mrs. Cheis-
man's affec-
tions for her
husband.

A kind wife.

Capt. Carver and Capt. Farlow were now, or about this time, executed, as before hinted. Farlow was related to Cheisman, as he had married Farlow's niece. When that he went first into the service (which was presently after that Bacon had received his commission) he was chosen commander of those recruits sent out of York county, to make up Bacon's numbers, according to the gauge of his commission, limited for the Indian service, and by Sir William or some one of the council recommended to Bacon,

Capt. Farlow
executed.

as a fit person to be commander of the said party. These terms, by which he became engaged, under Bacon's commands, he urged in his plea at his trial, adding that if he had, in what he had done, denied the general's orders, it was in his power to hang him, by the judgment of a court martial, and that he had acted nothing but in obedience to the general's authority. But it was replied against him that he was put under Bacon's command for the service of the country, against the Indians, which employ he ought to have kept to, and not to have acted beyond his bounds, as he had done; and since he went into the army under the governor's orders, he was required to search the same and see if he could find one that commissioned him to take up arms in opposition to the governor's authority and person. Neither had Bacon any other power by his commission (had the same been ever so legally obtained) but only to make war upon the Indians. Farlow rejoined that Bacon was, by his commission, to see that the king's peace was kept, and to suppress those that should endeavor to perturb the same. It was replied this might be granted him, and he might make his advantage of it, but he was required to consider whether the king's peace was to be kept in resisting the king's immediate governor, so as to levy a war against him, and so commanded him to be silent while his sentence was pronounced. This man was much pitied by those who were acquainted with him, as one of a peaceable disposition and a good scholar, which one might think should have enabled him to take a better estimate of his employment, as he was acquainted with the mathematics; but it seems the astrolabe or quadrant are not the fittest instruments to take the altitude of a subject's duty, the same being better demonstrated by practical, not speculative observations.

The nimble and timely service performed by Major Beverly, before mentioned, having opened the way in some measure, the governor once more sallieth out for the western shore, there to make trial of his better fortune; which now began to cast a more favorable aspect upon him and his affairs, by removing the main obstacles out of the way by a death, either natural or violent (the one the ordinary, the other the extraordinary workings of Providence), which had with such pertinances and violent

Sir. W. re-
moves to York
river.

perstrings, opposed his most auspicious proceedings. The last time he came, he made choice of James river; now he was resolved to set up his rest in York, as having the nearest vicinity to Gloster county (the river only interposing between it and York) in which, though the enemy was the strongest (as desiring to make it the seat of the war in regard of several local conveniences), yet in it he knew that his friends were not the weakest, whether we respect number or furniture. It is true they had taken the engagement, as the rest had, to Bacon; but he being dead, and the engagement, being only personal, was laid in the grave with him, for it was not made to himself, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns; if otherwise, it might have been indued with a kind of immortality, unless the sword, or juster or greater power might happen to wound it to death. But, however, Bacon being dead, and with him his commission, all those who had taken the engagement were now at liberty to go and choose themselves another master.

But though his honor knew that though they were discharged from the binding power of the oath, yet they were not free from the commanding power of those men that were still in arms, in pursuance of those ends for which the engagement was pretended to be taken; and that before this could be effected, those men must first be beaten from their arms, before the other could get their heels at liberty, to do him any service. Therefore he began to cast about how he might remove those blocks which stood in the Gloster men's way; which being once done, it must take away all pretences, and leave them without all excuse, if they should offer to sit still, when he and his good providence together had not only knocked off their shackles, but either imprisoned their jailors or tied them up to the gallows.

He had with him now in York river four ships, besides two or three sloops. Three of the ships he brought with him from Accomack; the other (a merchantman, as the rest were) was some time before arrived out of England, and in these about 150 men, at his immediate command; and no more he had when he came into York river. Where, being settled in consultation with his friends, for the managing of his affairs, to the best advantage,

The strength
Sir Will. had,
at his coming
to York.

he was informed that there was a party of the Baconians (for so they were still denominated, on that side, for distinction's sake) that had settled themselves in their winter quarters, at the house of one Mr. Howards, in Gloster county.

For to keep these vermin from breeding, in their warm kennel, he thought good, in time, for to get them ferreted out. For the accomplishment of which piece of service, he very secretly despatcheth away a select number under

Beverly sur-
prised Col.
Harris, in
Gloster.

the conduct of Major Beverly, who very nimbly performed the same, having the good fortune, as it is said, to catch them all asleep. And lest the good man of the house should forget this good service, that Beverly had done him, in removing his (to him) chargeable guest, with these sleepers, he conveys a good quantity of their landlord's goods aboard; the Baconians, whereof one a lieutenant-colonel, to remain prisoners, and the goods to be divided amongst those whose service had made them such, according to the law of arms; which Howard will have to be the law of *harms*, by placing the first letter of his name before the vowel a.

But in earnest, and to leave jesting, Howard did really think it hard measure, to see that go out of his store, by the sword, which he intended to deliver out by the ell or yard. Neither could his wife half like the market, when she saw the chapmen carry her daughter's husband away prisoner, and her own fine clothes going into captivity, to be sold by match and pin, and after worn by those who, before these times, were not worth a point; yet it is thought that the old gentlewoman was not so much concerned that her son-in-law was made a prisoner as her daughter was vexed, to see they had not left one man upon the plantation, to comfort neither herself nor mother.

This block (and no less was the commander of the forementioned sleepers) being removed out of the way, the Gloster men began to stir abroad, not provoked thereto out of any hopes of getting, but through a fear of losing. They did plainly perceive that if they themselves did not go to work, somebody else would, while they, for their negligence, might be compelled to pay them their wages; and what that might come to they could

The Gloster
men rise for
Sir W.

not tell, since it was probable, in such services, the laborers would be their own carvers; and it is commonly known that soldiers make no conscience to take more than their due.

The work that was now to be done in these parts (and further I cannot go for want of a guide) was cut out into several parcels, according as the Baconians had divided the same. And first at West Point, an isthmus which gives the denomination to the two rivers, Pomankey and Mattapony (Indian names), that branch forth of

What soldiers
at West Point.

York river, some thirty miles above Tindell's point, there was planted a guard of about two hundred soldiers. This place Bacon had designed to make his prime rendezvous, or place of retreat, in respect of several local conveniences this place admitted of, and which he found fit for his purpose for sundry reasons. Here it was, I think, that Ingram did chiefly reside, and from whence he drew his recruits of men and munition.

The next parcel, considerable, was at Green Spring, the governor's house, into which was put about one hundred men and boys, under the command of one

At Green
Spring.

Capt. Drew, who was resolutely bent, as he said, to keep the place in spite of all opposition; and that he might the better keep his promise he caused all the avenues and approaches to the same to be barricaded up, and three great guns planted to beat off the assailants. A third parcel of about

thirty or forty was put into the house of Colonel Nath. Bacon, a gentleman related to him, deceased,

At Colonel
Bacon's.

but not of his principles, under the command of one Major Whaley, a stout, ignorant fellow, as most of the rest, as may be seen hereafter; these were the most considerable parties that the Gloster men were to deal with, and which they had promised to reduce to obedience, or otherwise to beat them out of their lives, as some of them (perhaps not well acquainted with military affairs, or too well conceited of their own valor) boasted to do.

The person that by commission was to perform this work was one Major Lawrence Smith (and for this service so entitled, as it is said), a gentleman that in his time had hewed out many a knotted piece of work, and so the better knew how to handle such rugged fellows as the Baconians were famed to be.

The place for him to congregate his men at (I say congregate as a word not improper, since his second in dignity was a minister, who had laid down the miter and taken up the helmet) was at onè Major Pate's (in whose house Bacon had surrendered up both life and commission; the one to him that gave it, the other to him that took it), where there appeared men enough to have beaten all the rebels in the country, only with their axes and hoes, had they been led on by a good overseer.

I have either heard, or have read, that a complete general ought to be owner of these three induèments: wisdom to foresee, experience to choose, and courage to execute. He that wants the two last can never have the first, since a wise man will never undertake more than he is able to perform; he that hath the two first, wanting the last, makes but a lame commander, since courage is an inseparable adjunct to the bare name of a soldier, much more to a general; he that wants the second, having the first and the last, is no less imperfect than the other, since without experience, wisdom and courage, like young doctors, do but grope in the dark or strike by guess.

Much about the time that the Gloster men mustered at M. Pate's, there was a rising in Middlesex upon the same account; who were no sooner got upon their feet, but the Baconians resolved to bring them on their knees. For the effecting of which Ingram speeds away one Walklett, his lieutenant-general, a man much like the master, with a party of horse, to do the work. M. L. Smith was quickly informed upon what errand Walklett was sent, and so, with a generous resolution, resolves to be at his heels, if not beforehand with him, to help his friends in their distress.

And because he would not altogether trust to others in affairs of this nature, he advanceth at the head of his own troops (what horse, what foot for number, is not in my intelligence), leaving the rest for to fortify Major Pate's house, and so speeds after Walklett, who, before Smith could reach the required distance, had performed his work, with little labor, and hearing of Smith's advance, was preparing to give him a reception answerable to his designments; swearing to fight him though Smith should outnumber him cent per cent; and

The properties
of a good gen-
eral.

A rising in
Middlesex.

Walklett sent
to suppress it.

Smith
marches after
Walklett.

was not this a daring resolution of a boy that hardly ever saw a sword, but in a scabbard ?

In the meantime that this business was a doing, Ingram, understanding upon what design M. L. Smith was gone about, by the advice of his officers strikes in between him and his new-made and new-manned garrison at M. Pate's. He very nimbly invests the house, and then summons the soldiers, then under the command of the aforesaid minister, to a speedy rendition, or otherwise to stand out to mercy, at their utmost peril. After some to and fro about the business, quite beyond his text, the minister accepts of such articles, for a surrender, as pleased Ingram and his mermidons to grant.

Ingram takes
the Gloster
men at M.
Pate's.

Ingram had no sooner done this job of journey work, of which he was not a little proud, but M. L. Smith, having retracted his march out of Middlesex, as thinking it little less than a disparagement to have anything to do with Walklett, was upon the back

M. L. Smith
retracts his
march from
Walklett.

of Ingram before he was aware, and at which he was not a little daunted, fearing that he had beat Walklett to pieces in Middlesex. But he, perceiving that the Gloster men did not wear in their faces the countenances of conquerors, nor their clothes the marks of any late engagement, being free from the honorable stains of wounds and gun-shot, he began to hope the best, and the Gloster men to fear the worst ; and what the property of fear is, let Felthan tell you, who saith, that if courage be a good orator, fear is a bad counselor and a worse engineer. For instead of erecting, it beats and batters down all bulwarks of defense, persuading the feeble heart that there is no safety in armed troops, iron gates, nor stone walls. In opposition of which passion I will oppose the properties of its antithesis, and say, that as some men are never valiant but in the midst of discourse, so others never manifest their courage but in the midst of danger ; never more alive than when in the jaws of death, crowded up in the midst of fire, smoke, swords, and guns ; and then not so much laying about them through desperation, or to save their lives, as through a generosity of spirit, to trample upon the lives of their enemies.

For the saving of powder and shot, or rather through the before-mentioned generosity of courage, one Major Bristow, on

Maj. Bristow's
challenge to
Ingram.

Smith's side, made a motion to try the equity and justness of the quarrel by single combat; Bristow proffering himself against anyone, being a gentleman on the other side. This was noble, and like a soldier. This motion, or rather challenge, was as readily accepted by Ingram, as proffered by Bristow; Ingram swearing the newest oath in fashion that he would be the man, and so advanceth on foot, with sword and pistol, against Bristow, but was fetched back by his own men, as doubting the justness of their cause, or in consideration of the disparity that was between the two antagonists. For though it might be granted that in a private condition Bristow was the better man, yet now it was not to be allowed, as Ingram was entitled.

This business not fadging, between the two champions, the Gloster men began to entertain strange and new resolutions, quite retrograde to their pretensions, and what was by all good men expected from the promising aspects of this their league-
ing against a usurping power. It is said that a good cause and a good deputation is a lawful authority for any man to fight by; yet neither of these, jointly nor severally, hath a coercive power to make a man a good soldier. If he wants courage, though he is enlisted under both, yet is he not sterling coin; he is at best but copper, stamped with the king's impress, and will pass for no more than his just value. As to a good cause, doubtless they had satisfied themselves as to that, else what were they at this time a contending for, and for

The Gloster
men submit to
Ingram.

whom? And as for a good deputation, if they wanted that, wherefore did they so miserably befool themselves, as to run into the mouths of their enemies, and there to stand still like a company of sheep, with the knife at their throats, and never so much as offer to bleat for the saving of their lives, liberties, estates, and what to truly valiant men is of greater value than these, their credits? all which now lay at the mercy of their enemies, by a tame surrender of their arms and persons into the hands of Ingram, without striking one stroke, who having made all the chief men prisoners, excepting those who first run away, he dismissed the rest to their own abodes, there to sum up the number of those that were either slain or wounded in this service.

Much about this time, of the Gloster business, his honor sends abroad a party of men, from off aboard, under the command of one Hubert Farrill, to ferret out a company of the rebels who kept guard at Colonel Bacon's, under the power of Major Whaley, before mentioned. Colonel Bacon himself and one Colonel Ludwell came along with Farrill, to see to the management of the enterprise, about which they took all possible care, that it might prove fortunate. For they had no sooner resolved upon the onset, but they consult on the manner, which was to be effected by a generosity parallel with the design, which required courage and expedition; and so concludes not to answer the sentries by firing, but to take, kill, or drive them up to their avenues, and then to enter pell-mell with them into the house. This method was good, had it been as well executed as contrived. But the sentry had no sooner made the challenge with his mouth, demanding who comes there, but the other answer with their muskets, which seldom speak the language of friends, and that in so loud a manner that it alarmed those in the house to a defense, and then into a posture to sally out. Which the others perceiving, contrary to their first orders, wheel off from the danger, to find a place for their security, which they in part found behind some out-buildings, and from whence they fired one upon the other, giving the bullets leave to grope their own way in the dark (for as yet it was not day), till the general was shot through his loins; and in his fate all the soldiers, or the greater part, through their hearts now sunk into their heels, which they were now making use of instead of their hands, the better to save their jackets, of which they had been certainly stript had they come under their enemies' fingers, who knows better how to steal than fight, notwithstanding this uneven cast of fortune's mal-
 Farrill killed.
 lice; being a conflict in which the losers have cause to repent and the winners faith to give God thanks, unless with the same devotion thieves do when that they have stripped honest men out of their money. Here was none but their general killed, whose commission was found dripping wet with his own blood, in his pocket; and three or four taken prisoners; what wounded not known, if any, in their backs, as their enemies say, who gloried more in their conquest than ever Scan-

Farrill attempts the Baconians under Whaley's command.

derbeg did for the greatest victory he ever obtained against the Turks.. If Sir William's cause was no better than his fortunes hitherto, how many proselytes might his disasters bring over to the other side? But God forbid that the justice of all quarrels should be estimated by their events.

Yet here in this action, as well as some others before, who can choose but deplore the strange fate that the governor was subjected to, in the evil choice of his chief commanders, for the leading on his military transactions; that when his cause should come to a day of hearing, they should want courage to put in their plea of defense against their adversary's arguments, and pitifully to stand still and see themselves non-suited in every sneaking adventure or action that called upon their generosity, if they had had any, to vindicate their indubitable pretences against an usurped power.

It is true Whaley's condition was desperate, and he was resolved that his courage should be conformable and as desperate as his condition. He did not want intelligence how Hansford and some others were served at Accomack, which made him think it a great deal better to die like a man than be hanged like a dog, if that his fate would but give him the liberty of picking as well as he had taken the liberty of stealing, of which unsoldierlike quality he was foully guilty. But let Whaley's condition be never so desperate, and that he was resolved to manage an opposition against his assailant according to his condition, yet those in the house with him stood upon other terms, being two-thirds (and the whole exceeded not forty) pressed into the service, much against their will; and had a greater antipathy against Whaley than they had any cause for to fear his fate if he, and they too, had been taken. As for that objection, that Farrill was not, at this time, fully cured of those wounds he received in the sally at town, which in this action proved detrimental both to his strength and courage, why then, if it was so, did he accept of this employ, he having the liberty of refusing, since none could be better acquainted with his own condition, either for strength or courage, than himself. Certainly, in this particular Farrill's foolish ostentation was not excusable, nor Sir William without blame to comply with his ambition, as he had no other parts to prove himself a soldier than a harebrained

resolution to put himself forward in those affairs he had no more acquaintance with than what he had heard people talk of. For the failure of this enterprise, which must wholly be referred to the breach he made upon their sedulous determinations, which was, as is intimated before, to crowd into the house with the sentry, not only injurious to their own party, by letting slip so fair an occasion to weaken the power of the enemy by removing Whaley out of the way, who was esteemed the most considerable person on that side, but it was and did prove of bad consequence to the adjacent parts, where he kept guard. For, whereas before he did only take aim where he might do mischief, he now did mischief without taking aim; before this unhappy conflict he did level at this or that particular only, but now he shot at rovers, let the same light where it would, he mattered not.

Captain Grantham had now been some time in Yorke river. A man unto whom Virginia is very much beholden for his neat contrivance, in bringing ^{Ingram reduced by Grantham.} Ingram and some others over to harken to reason.

With Ingram he had some small acquaintance, for it was in his ship that he came to Virginia; and so resolved to try if he might not do that by words which others could not accomplish with swords. Now, although he knew that Ingram was the point where all the lines of his contrivance were for to center, yet he could not tell, very well, how to obtain this point. For although he did know that Ingram, in his private condition, was accostable enough; yet since the titmouse (by one of fortune's figures) was become an elephant, he did not know but that his pride might be as immense as his power; since the peacock, though bred upon a dunghill, is no less proud of his fine feathers than the princely eagle is of his noble courage. What arguments Grantham made use of, to wring the sword out of Ingram's hand, to me is not visible, more than what he told me of; which I think was not mercurial enough, against an ordinary Sophister. But to speak the truth, it may be imagined that Grantham, at this time, could not bring more reasons to convince Ingram, than Ingram had in his own head to convince himself; and so did only await some favorable overtures (and such as Grantham might, it is possible, now make) to bring him over to the other side. Neither could he apprehend more

reason in Grantham's arguments than in his own affairs, which now provoked him to dismount from the back of that horse which he wanted skill and strength to manage, especially there being some of his own party waiting an opportunity to toss him out of the saddle of his new mounted honors, and of whose designs he wanted not some intelligence, in the countenances of his mermidons, who began for to look askew upon this, their milksop general, who they judged fitter to dance upon a rope, or in some of his wenches' laps, than to caper either to Bellonie's bagpipe or Mars' whistle.

But though Ingram was won upon to turn honest in this thing (thanks to the necessity, which made it an act of compulsion, not a free-will offering), yet was the work but half done until the soldiers were wrought upon to follow his example. And though he himself, or anybody else, might command them to take up their arms when any mischief was to be done, yet it was a question whether he, or any in the country, could command them to lay down their arms for to effect or do any good. In such a case as this, where authority wants power, discretion must be made use of, as a virtue surmounting a brutish force. Grantham, though he had been but a while in the country, and had seen but little as to matter of action, yet he had heard a great deal; and so much that the name of authority had but little power to wring the sword out of these mad fellows' hands, as he did perceive. And that there was more hopes to effect that by smooth words which was never likely to be accomplished by rough deeds, therefore he resolved to accost them, as the devil courted Eve, though to a better purpose, with never-to-be-performed promises; counting it no sin to ludificate those for their good that had been deceived by others to their hurt. He knew that men were to be treated as such, and children according to their childish dispositions. And although it was not with both these he was now to deal, yet he was to observe the several tempers of those he was to work upon.

What number of soldiers was at this time in
Grantham at
West Point. garrison at West Point I am not certain. It is said
 about 250, summed up in freemen, servants, and
 slaves; these three ingredients being the composition of
 Bacon's army ever since that the governor left town. These

were informed, to prepare the way, two or three days before that Grantham came to them, that there was a treaty on foot between their general and the governor, and that Grantham did mainly promote the same, as he was a person that favored the cause that they were contending for.

When that Grantham arrived among these fine fellows, he was received with more than an ordinary respect, which he having repaid, with a suitable deportment, he acquaints them with his commission, which was to tell them that there was a peace concluded between the governor and their general; and since himself had, in some measure, used his endeavors to bring the same to pass, he begged of the governor that he might have the honor to come and acquaint them with the terms, which he said were such that they had all cause to rejoice at, than anywise to think hardly of the same, there being a complete satisfaction to be given by the articles of agreement, according to every-one's particular interest, which he summed up under these heads: And first, those that were now in arms and free men, under the general, were still to be retained in arms, if they so pleased, against the Indians. Secondly, and for those who had a desire for to return home to their own abodes, care was taken to have them satisfied for the time they had been out, according to the allowance made at the last Assembly. And lastly, those that were servants in arms, and behaved themselves well in their employment, should immediately receive discharges from their indentures, signed by the governor or secretary of state, and their masters to receive, from the public, a valuable satisfaction for every servant so set free (mark the words), proportionally to the time that they have to serve.

Upon what
terms West
Point was sur-
rendered.

Upon these terms, the soldiers forsake West Point, and go with Grantham to kiss the governor's hands (still at Tindell's Point), and to receive the benefit of the articles mentioned by Grantham; where when they came (which was by water, themselves in one vessel, and their arms in another; and so contrived by Grantham, as he told me himself, upon good reason), the servants and slaves were sent home to their masters, there to stay till the governor had leisure to sign their discharges, or, to say better, till they were free according to

the custom of the country; the rest was made prisoners, or entertained by the governor, as he found them inclined.

Of all the obstacles that had hitherto lain in the governor's way, there is not one, which hath fallen within the verge of

my intelligence, that hath been removed by the sword, excepting what was performed under the conduct of Beverly. How this undertaking by

Grantham was effected, you have heard, though badly (as the rest) by me summed up. The next that is taken notice of is that at Greene Spring, before hinted, under the command of one Captain Drew, formerly a miller by profession, though now dignified with the title of a captain, and made governor of this place by Bacon, as he was a person formerly beholden under Sir William, and so, by way of requital, most likely to keep him out of his own house. This Whisker of Whorly-Giggs, perceiving now that there was more water coming down upon his mill than the dam would hold, thought best in time to fortify the same, lest all should be borne down before he had taken his toll. Which having effected, making it the strongest place in the country, what with great and small guns, he stands upon his guard and refuseth to surrender but upon his own terms; which being granted, he secures the place till such time as Sir William should, in person, come and take possession of the same. And was not this prettily, honestly done, of a miller?

The greatest difficulty now to be performed was to remove Drummond and Larence out of the way. These two men were excepted out of the governor's pardon, by his proclamation of June last, and several papers since, and for to die without mercy whenever taken; as they were the chief incendiaries and promoters to and for Bacon's designs, and by whose councils all transactions were, for the greater part, managed all along on that side.

Drummond was formerly governor of Carolina, and always esteemed a person of such induements, where wisdom and honesty are contending for superiority, which rendered him to be one of that sort of people whose dimensions are not to be taken by the line of an ordinary capacity. Larence was late one of the assembly, and burgess for the town in which he was a liver. He was a person not meanly acquainted with such

Greene Spring
secured for
William.

Short career
of Drummond
and Larence.

learning, besides his natural parts, that enables a man for the management of more than ordinary employments, which he subjected to an eclipse, as well in the transactions of the present affairs as in the dark embraces of a blackamoor, his slave; and that in so fond a manner, as though Venus was chiefly to be worshiped in the image of a negro, or that beauty consisted altogether in the antipathy of complexions, to the no mean scandal and affront of all the votaresses in or about town.

When that West Point was surrendered and Greene Spring secured for the governor, these two generals were at the brick house in New Kent, a place situate almost opposite to West Point, on the south side of Yorke river, and not two miles removed from the said point, with some soldiers under their command for to keep the governor's men from landing on that side, he having a ship at that time at anchor near the place. They had made some attempts to have hindered Grantham's designs, of which they had gained some intelligence, but their endeavors not fadging, they sent down to Colonel Bacon's to fetch of the guard there, under the command of Whaley, to reinforce their own strength.

Drummond
and Colonel
Larance at the
brick house at
New Kent.

CÆTERA DESUNT.

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS; or the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with Useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER, of COOPERS-TOWN, to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: Printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street; 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction especially written for this new edition by James Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, a great-grandson of Judge Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE LATE WAR, under the command of COLONELS FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of the lake from Erie to Long Point; also the crossing of Niagara by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa, the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the author (then a captain), and their treatment; together with an historical account of the Canadas. By SAMUEL WHITE. Baltimore, 1830. 12mo, boards, uncut. \$1.00

Three hundred copies only, 1896.

HISTORIC NEW YORK—The Half Moon Series. Edited by Maud Wilder Goodwin, Alice Carrington Royce, and Ruth Putnam. Illustrated, 8vo, gilt top. N. Y., 1897. \$2.50.

CONTENTS.

Fort Amsterdam.

By Maud Wilder Goodwin.

The Stadt Huys of New Amsterdam.

By Alice Morse Earle.

Wall Street.

By Oswald Garrison Villard.

Annetje Jan's Farm.

By Ruth Putnam.

The City Chest of New Amsterdam.

By E. Dana Durand.

Old Wells and Water-Courses. Part I.

By George Everett Hill and
George E. Waring Jr.

Old Wells and Water-Courses. Part II.

By George Everett Hill and
George E. Waring, Jr.

Old Greenwich.

By Elizabeth Bisland.

The Fourteen Miles Round.

By Alfred Bishop Mason and
Mary Murdock Mason.

King's College.

By John B. Pine.

The Bowery.

By Edward Ringwood Hewitt and
Mary Ashley Hewitt.

Governor's Island.

By Blanche Wilder Bellamy.

For Sale.

AN INTERESTING LOT. Barber and Howe's Historical Collections of New York; O'Reilly's History of Rochester, N. Y.; Captain Basil Hall's Travels in North America, 3 vols., with autograph letter inserted; the quarto volume of Views in North America, by Basil Hall. Together, 6 vols. Newly and uniformly bound in half morocco. \$35.00

CLARK (LEWIS H.). MILITARY HISTORY OF WAYNE COUNTY, N. Y. The County in the Civil War. 8vo, cloth, Sodus, N. Y., 1883. \$5.00

LAFAYETTE MEMOIRS. Correspondance et Manuscrits des General Lafayette, publies par sa Famille. 3 vols., 8vo, boards, Paris, 1837. \$4.50

MAHAN (CAPTAIN A. T.). The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire. 1793-1812. 2 vols., 8vo, cloth, illustrated, Boston, 1894. One set only. \$5.00

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION TO LOCATE THE SITE OF THE FRONTIER FORTS OF PENNSYLVANIA. 2 vols., 8vo, freely illustrated with finely colored maps of very great importance. Harrisburg, 1896. \$5.00

THE STONE SCULPTURES OF COPAN AND QUIRIGUA, drawn by Heinrich Meye. Historical and descriptive text by Dr. Julius Schmidt. Translated from the German by A. D. Savage. Royal folio, illustrated, New York, 1883. One copy only. \$6.00

*Any of the books above will be forwarded on receipt
of price by George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange
Street, Rochester, New York.*

55

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER ELEVEN

MARCH 1898

NEW ENGLAND'S PLANTATION; OR, A
SHORT AND TRUE DESCRIPTION OF
THE COMMODITIES AND DISCOMMODITIES
OF THAT COUNTRY. WRITTEN BY A REV-
EREND DIVINE NOW THERE RESIDENT.
LONDON: PRINTED BY T. C. AND R. C. FOR
MICHAEL SPARKE, DWELLING AT THE SIGN
OF THE BLUE BIBLE, IN GREEN ARBOR, IN
THE LITTLE OLD BAILEY. 1630.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by
GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER

Foreign Agents GAY & BIRD London England

NEW
P
K. & T. CO.
COL

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humprey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for Europe and the Colonies. The number for April will contain: "A Petition of W. C., exhibited to the High Court of Parliament now assembled, for the propagating of the Gospel in America and the West Indies, and for the settling of our Plantations there; which petition is approved by seventy able English Divines, also by Master Alexander Henderson and some other worthy Ministers of Scotland. Printed in the year 1641."

Just Published:

THE LIFE OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON. 1737-1832. With his Correspondence and Public Papers. By Kate Mason Rowland, author of "The Life of George Mason," etc. Fully illustrated. Two volumes, 8vo. New York, 1893. Per set, \$6.00 *net*.

The biography of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last of the Signers, has never before been fully written. It is believed that the publication of his letters and papers, with a detailed account of his public services, will be acceptable to all students of American history, and will enhance and substantiate the already high reputation of this pure and noble-minded statesman, the peer in character and intellect of any of the great Revolutionary leaders. Charles Carroll's life may be roughly divided into three periods; thirty years, mostly spent abroad, in preparation for the patriotic duties which awaited him; thirty years in the service of his state and country; thirty years in scholarly retirement, where, as a close and interested observer of public events, he remained in touch with the outside world even to the last months of his earthly career.

NEW ENGLAND'S PLANTATION,

OR, A SHORT AND TRUE DESCRIPTION OF THE
COMMODITIES AND DISCOMMODITIES
OF THAT COUNTRY.

WRITTEN BY A REVEREND DIVINE NOW THERE RESIDENT.

LONDON:

Printed by T. C. and R. C. for Michael Sparke, dwelling at
the sign of the Blue Bible, in Green Arbor, in
the little Old Bailey.

1630.

NO 11 MARCH 1898

COLONIAL TRACTS

Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

COCONIAL TRACTS

TO THE READER.

READER, do not disdain to read this relation ; and look not here to have a large gate and no building within, a full-stuffed title with no matter in the book ; but here read the truth, and that thou shalt find without any frothy bombasted words, or any quaint new-devised additions, only as it was written (not intended for the press) by a reverend divine now there living, who only sent it to some friends here which were desirous of his relations ; which is an epitome of their proceedings in the plantation. And for thy part, if thou meanest to be no planter nor venturer, do but lend thy good prayers for the furtherance of it. And so I rest, a well-wisher to all the good designs both of them which are gone and of them that are to go.

M. S.

VOL 1 COLONIAL TRACTS NO 11

NEW ENGLAND'S PLANTATION.

LETTING pass our voyage by sea, we will now begin our discourse on the shore of New England. And because the life and welfare of every creature here below, and the commodiousness of the country whereby such creatures live, doth by the most wise ordering of God's providence depend, next unto himself, upon the temperature and disposition of the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire (for as of the mixture of all these all sublunary things are composed, so by the more or less enjoyment of the wholesome temper and convenient use of these consisteth the only well-being both of man and beast in a more or less comfortable measure in all countries under the heavens), therefore I will endeavor to show you what New England is by the consideration of each of these apart, and truly endeavor by God's help to report nothing but the naked truth, and that both to tell you of the discommodities as well as of the commodities, though, as the idle proverb is, travelers may lie by authority, and so may take too much sinful liberty that way. Yet I may say of myself, as once Nehemiah did in another case, "Shall such a man as I lie?" No, verily, it becometh not a preacher of truth to be a writer of falsehood in any degree; and therefore I have been careful to report nothing of New England but what I have partly seen with mine own eyes, and partly heard and inquired from the mouths of very honest and religious persons, who by living in the country a good space of time have had experience and knowledge of the state thereof, and whose testimonies I do believe as myself.

First, therefore, of the earth of New England and all the appurtenances thereof: it is a land of divers and sundry sorts all about Massachusetts bay, and at Charles river is as fat, black earth as can be seen anywhere; and in other places you

have a clay soil, in others gravel, in others sandy, as it is all about our plantation at Salem, for so our town is now named. Psal. 76:2.

The form of the earth here, in the superficies of it, is neither too flat in the plainness nor too high in hills, but partakes of both in a mediocrity, and fit for pasture, or for plow or meadow ground, as men please to employ it; though all the country be as it were a thick wood for the general, yet in divers places there is much ground cleared by the Indians, and especially about the plantation; and I am told that about three miles from us a man may stand on a little hilly place and see divers thousands of acres of ground as good as need be, and not a tree in the same. It is thought here is good clay to make brick and tiles and earthen pots, as needs to be. At this instant we are setting a brick kiln on work to make bricks and tiles for the building of our houses. For stone, here is plenty of slates at the Isle of Slate in Massachusetts bay, and limestone, free-stone, and smooth-stone, and iron-stone, and marble-stone also in such store that we have great rocks of it, and a harbor hard by. Our plantation is from thence called Marble harbor.

Of minerals there hath yet been but little trial made, yet we are not without great hope of being furnished in that soil.

The fertility of the soil is to be admired at, as appeareth in the abundance of grass that grows everywhere, both very thick, very long, and very high in divers places; but it grows very wildly with a great stalk and a broad and ranker blade, because it never had been eaten by cattle, nor mowed with a scythe, and seldom trampled on by foot. It is scarce to be believed how our kine and goats, horses, and hogs do thrive and prosper here and like this country.

In our plantation we have already a quart of milk for a penny; but the abundant increase of corn proves this country to be a wonderment. Thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, are ordinary here; yea, Joseph's increase in Egypt is outstripped here with us. Our planters hope to have more than a hundred-fold this year, and all this while I am within compass; what will you say of two hundred fold and upwards? It is almost incredible what great gain some of our English planters have had by our Indian corn. Credible persons have assured me, and the party himself vouched the truth of it to me, that of the setting of thirteen

gallons of corn he hath had increase of it fifty-two hogsheads, every hogshead holding seven bushels of London measure, and every bushel was by him sold and trusted to the Indians for so much beaver as was worth eighteen shillings; and so of this thirteen gallons of corn, which was worth six shillings eight pence, he made about 327 pounds of it the year following, as by reckoning will appear; whereby you may see how God blesseth husbandry in this land. There are not such great and beautiful acres of corn, I suppose, anywhere else to be found but in this country; being also of variety of colors, as red, blue, and yellow, etc., and of one corn there springeth four or five hundred. I have sent you many ears of divers colors, that you might see the truth of it.

Little children here by setting of corn may earn much more than their own maintenance.

They have tried our English corn at New Plymouth plantation, so that all our several grains will grow here very well, and have a fitting soil for their nature.

Our governor hath store of green peas growing in his garden as good as ever I eat in England.

This country abounds naturally with store of roots of great variety and good to eat. Our turnips, parsnips, and carrots are here both bigger and sweeter than is ordinarily to be found in England. Here are also store of pumpkins, cucumbers, and other things of that nature which I know not. Also divers excellent pot-herbs grow abundantly among the grass, as strawberry leaves in all places of the country, and plenty of strawberries in their time, and pennyroyal, wintersauerie, sorrel, brooklime, liverwort, caruell, and watercresses; also leeks and onions are ordinary, and divers physical herbs. Here are also abundance of other sweet herbs delightful to the smell, whose names we know not, etc., and plenty of single damask roses, very sweet; and two kinds of herbs that bear two kind of flowers very sweet, which they say are as good to make cordage or cloth as any hemp or flax we have.

Excellent vines are here up and down in the woods. Our governor has already planted a vineyard with great hope of increase.

Also mulberries, plums, raspberries, currants, chestnuts, filberts, walnuts, smallnuts, hurtleberries, and hawes of

whitethorne near as good as our cherries in England, they grow in plenty here.

For wood there is no better in the world, I think, here being four sorts of oak differing both in the leaf, timber, and color, all excellent good. There is also good ash, elm, willow, birch, beech, sassafras, juniper cypress, cedar, spruce, pines, and fir that will yield abundance of turpentine, pitch, tar, masts, and other materials for building both of ships and houses. Also here are store of sumach trees, they are good for dying and tanning of leather, likewise such trees yield a precious gum called white beniamen, that they say is excellent for perfumes. Also, here be divers roots and berries wherewith the Indians dye excellent holiday colors that no rain nor washing can alter. Also, we have materials to make soap ashes and saltpeter in abundance.

For beasts, there are some bears, and they say some lions also, for they have been seen at Cape Ann. Also, here are several sorts of deer, some whereof bring three or four young ones at once, which is not ordinary in England. Also wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, martins, great wild cats, and a great beast called a molke, as big as an ox. I have seen the skins of all these beasts since I came to this plantation, excepting lions. Also, here are great store of squirrels, some greater and some smaller and lesser; there are some of the lesser sort, they tell me, that by a certain skin will fly from tree to tree, though they stand far distant.

OF THE WATERS OF NEW ENGLAND, WITH THE THINGS BELONGING TO THE SAME.

NEW England hath water enough, both salt and fresh; the greatest sea in the world, the Atlantic sea, runs ail along the coast thereof. There are abundance of islands along the shore, some full of wood and mast to feed swine, and others clear of wood and fruitful to bear corn. Also, we have store of excellent harbors for ships, as at Cape Ann and at Massachusetts bay, and at Salem, and at many other places; and they are the better because for strangers there is a very difficult and dangerous passage into them, but unto such as are well acquainted with them they are easy and safe enough. The abundance of sea fish are almost beyond believing, and

sure I should scarce have believed it except I had seen it with mine own eyes. I saw great store of whales and grampus, and such abundance of mackerels that it would astonish one to behold, likewise codfish abundance on the coast, and in their season are plentifully taken. There is a fish called a bass, a most sweet and wholesome fish as ever I did eat; it is altogether as good as our fresh salmon, and the season of their coming was begun when we came first to New England in June, and so continued about three months' space. Of this fish our fishers take many hundreds together, which I have seen lying on the shore to my admiration; yea, their nets ordinarily take more than they are able to haul to land, and for want of boats and men they are constrained to let many go after they have taken them, and yet sometimes they fill two boats at a time with them. And besides bass we take plenty of skate and thornback, and abundance of lobsters that the least boy in the plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them. For my own part I was soon cloyed with them, they were so great, and fat, and luscious. I have seen some myself that have weighed sixteen pounds, but others have had at divers times so great lobsters as have weighed twenty-five pounds, as they assured me. Also, here is abundance of herring, turbot, sturgeon, cuskes, haddocks, mullets, eels, crabs, muscles, and oysters. Beside, there is probability that the country is of an excellent temper for the making of salt; for since our coming our fishermen have brought home very good salt which they found candied by the standing of the sea water and the heat of the sun, upon a rock by the sea shore; and in divers salt marshes that some have gone through they have found some salt in some places crushing under their feet and cleaving to their shoes.

And as for fresh water, the country is full of dainty springs, and some great rivers, and some lesser brooks; and at Massachusetts bay they digged wells and found water at three feet deep in most places; and near Salem they have as fine, clear water as we can desire, and we may dig wells and find water where we list.

Thus we see both land and sea abound with store of blessings for the comfortable sustenance of man's life in New England.

OF THE AIR OF NEW ENGLAND, WITH THE TEMPER AND
CREATURES IN IT.

THE temper of the air of New England is one special thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthful place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodies. Many that have been weak and sickly in old England, by coming hither have been thoroughly healed and grown healthful and strong. For here is an extraordinary clear and dry air that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholy, phlegmatic, rheumatic temper of body. None can more truly speak hereof by their own experience than myself. My friends that knew me can well tell how very sickly I have been, and continually in physick, being much troubled with a tormenting pain through an extraordinary weakness of my stomach, and an abundance of melancholic humors; but since I came hither on this voyage I thank God I have had perfect health, and freed from pain and vomitings, having a stomach to digest the hardest and and coarsest fare, who before could not eat finest meat; and whereas my stomach could only digest and did require such drink as was both strong and stale, now I can and do oftentimes drink New England water very well; and I that have not gone without a cap for many years together, neither durst leave off the same, have now cast away my cap, and do wear none at all in the daytime; and whereas beforetime I clothed myself with double clothes and thick waistcoats to keep me warm, even in the summer time, I do now go as thin clad as any, only wearing a light-stuff cassock upon my shirt and stuff breeches of one thickness without linings. Besides, I have one of my children that was formerly most lamentably handled with sore breaking out of both his hands and feet of the King's evil, but since he came hither he is very well over what he was, and there is hope of perfect recovery shortly, even by the very wholesomeness of the air, altering, digesting, and drying up the cold and crude humors of the body. And therefore I think it is a wise course for all cold complexions to come to take physick in New England; for a sup of New England's air is better than a whole draft of old England's ale.

In the summer time, in the midst of July and August, it is a good deal hotter than in old England; and in winter, January

and February are much colder, as they say ; but the spring and autumn are of a middle temper.

Fowls of the air are plentiful here, and of all sorts as we have in England, as far as I can learn, and a great many of strange fowls which we know not. Whilst I was writing these things one of our men brought home an eagle which he had killed in the wood ; they say they are good meat. Also, here are many kinds of excellent hawks, both sea hawks and land hawks ; and myself, walking in the woods with another in company, sprung a partridge so big that through the heaviness of his body could fly but a little way ; they that have killed them say they are as big as our hens. Here are likewise abundance of turkeys often killed in the woods, far greater than our English turkeys, and exceeding fat, sweet, and fleshy, for here they have abundance of feeding all the year long, as strawberries, in summer all places are full of them, and all manner of berries and fruits. In the winter time I have seen flocks of pigeons, and have eaten them ; they do fly from tree to tree as other birds do, which our pigeons will not do in England ; they are of all colors as ours are, but their wings and tails are far longer, and therefore it is likely they fly swifter to escape the terrible hawks in this country. In winter time this country doth abound with wild geese, wild ducks, and other sea fowl, that a great part of winter the planters have eaten nothing but roast meat of divers fowls which they have killed.

Thus you have heard of the earth, water, and air of New England ; now it may be you expect something to be said of the fire proportionable to the rest of the elements.

Indeed, I think New England may boast of this element more than of all the rest ; for though it be here something cold in the winter, yet here we have plenty of fire to warm us, and that a great deal cheaper than they sell billets and faggots in London ; nay, all Europe is not able to afford to make so great fires as New England. A poor servant here, that is to possess but fifty acres of land, may afford to give more wood for timber and fire as good as the world yields, than many noblemen in England can afford to do. Here is good living for those that love good fires. And although New England has no tallow to make candles of, yet by the abundance of the fish thereof it can afford oil for lamps. Yea, our pine trees, that are the

most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles which are very useful in the house ; and they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other, and they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven into little slices something thin, which are so full of the moisture of turpentine and pitch, that they burn as clear as a torch. I have sent you some of them that you may see the experience of them.

Thus of New England's commodities, now I will tell you of some discommodities that are here to be found.

First, in the summer season for these three months, June, July, and August, we are troubled much with little flies called musketoes, being the same they are troubled with in Lincolnshire and the Fens ; and they are nothing but gnats, which, except they be smoked out of their houses, are troublesome in the night season.

Secondly, in the winter season, for two months' space, the earth is commonly covered with snow, which is accompanied with sharp, biting frosts, something more sharp than is in old England, and therefore we are forced to make great fires.

Thirdly, this country being very full of woods and wildernesses, doth also much abound with snakes and serpents of strange colors and huge greatness ; yea, there are some serpents called rattlesnakes that have rattles in their tails, that will not fly from a man as others will, but will fly upon him and sting him so mortally that he will die within a quarter of an hour after, except the party stung have about him some of the root of an herb called snakeweed to bite on, and then he shall receive no harm ; but yet seldom falls it out that any hurt is done by these. About three years since an Indian was stung to death by one of them, but we heard of none since that time.

Fourthly, and lastly, here wants as yet the good company of honest Christians to bring with them horses, kine, and sheep to make use of this fruitful land. Great pity it is to see so much good ground for corn and for grass as any is under the heavens, to lie altogether unoccupied, when so many honest men and their families in old England, through the populousness thereof, do make very hard shift to live one by the other.

Now, thus you know what New England is, as also with the commodities and discommodities thereof ; now I will show you a little of the inhabitants thereof, and their government.

For their governors they have kings, which they call saggamores, some greater and some lesser, according to the number of their subjects.

The greatest saggamores about us cannot make about three hundred men, and other less saggamores have not above fifteen subjects, and others near about us but two.

Their subjects about twelve years since were swept away by a great and grievous plague that was amongst them, so that there are very few left to inhabit the country.

The Indians are not able to make use of the one-fourth part of the land, neither have they any settled places as towns to dwell in, nor any ground as they challenge for their own possession, but change their habitation from place to place.

For their statures, they are a tall and strong-limbed people, their colors are tawny, they go naked, save only they are in part covered with beasts' skins on one of their shoulders, and wear something before their privities. Their hair is generally black and cut before like our gentlewomen, and one lock longer than the rest, much like to our gentlemen, which fashion I think came from hence into England.

For their weapons they have bows and arrows, some of them headed with bone and some with brass ; I have sent you some of them for an example.

The men for the most part live idly, they do nothing but hunt and fish ; their wives set their corn and do all their other work. They have little household stuff, as a kettle, and some other vessels like trays, spoons, dishes, and baskets.

Their houses are very little and homely, being made with small poles pricked into the ground and so bended and fastened at the tops, and on the sides they are matted with boughs, and covered on the roof with sedge and old mats ; and for their beds that they take their rest on they have a mat.

They do generally profess to like well our coming and planting here ; partly because there is abundance of ground that they cannot possess nor make use of, and partly because our being here will be a means both of relief to them when they want, and also a defense from their enemies, wherewith

(I say) before this plantation begun, they were often endangered.

For their religion they do worship two gods, a good god and an evil god ; the good god they call Tantum, and their evil god, whom they fear will do them hurt, they call Squantum.

For their dealing with us, we neither fear them nor trust them, for forty of our musketeers will drive five hundred of them out of the field. We use them kindly ; they will come into our houses sometimes by half a dozen or half a score at a time when we are at victuals, but will ask or take nothing but what we give them.

We propose to learn their language as soon as we can, which will be a means to do them good.

OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PLANTATION, AND WHAT IT IS.

WHEN we came first to Neihum-kek we found about half a score of houses, and a fair house newly built for the governor ; we found also abundance of corn planted by them, very good and well liking. And we brought with us about two hundred passengers and planters more, which by common consent of the old planters were all combined together into one body politic, under the same governor.

There are in all of us, both old and new planters, about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Neihum-kek, now called Salem ; and the rest have planted themselves at Massachusetts bay, beginning to build a town there which we do call Cherton, or Charles Town.

We that are settled at Salem make what haste we can to build houses, so that within a short time we shall have a fair town.

We have great ordnance, wherewith we doubt not but we shall fortify ourselves in a short time to keep out a potent adversary. But that which is our greatest comfort and means of defense above all other is, that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of Almighty God taught amongst us. Thanks be to God, we have plenty of preaching, and diligent catechising with strict and careful exercise, and good and commendable orders to bring our people into a Christian

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS ; or the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with Useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER, of COOPERS-TOWN, to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: Printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street ; 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction especially written for this new edition by James Fenimore Cooper, of Albany, a great-grandson of Judge Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE LATE WAR, under the command of COLONELS FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of the lake from Erie to Long Point ; also the crossing of Niagara by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa, the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the author (then a captain), and their treatment ; together with an historical account of the Canadas. By SAMUEL WHITE. Baltimore, 1830. 12mo, boards, uncut. \$1.00

Three hundred copies only, 1896.

HISTORIC NEW YORK—The Half Moon Series. Edited by Maud Wilder Goodwin, Alice Carrington Royce, and Ruth Putnam. Illustrated, 8vo, gilt top. N. Y., 1897. \$2.50.

CONTENTS.

Fort Amsterdam.
By Maud Wilder Goodwin.

The Stadt Huys of New Amsterdam.
By Alice Morse Earle.

Wall Street.
By Oswald Garrison Villard.

Annetje Jan's Farm.
By Ruth Putnam.

The City Chest of New Amsterdam.
By E. Dana Durand.

Old Wells and Water-Courses. Part I.
By George Everett Hill and
George E Waring Jr.

Old Wells and Water-Courses. Part II.
By George Everett Hill and
George E. Waring, Jr.

Old Greenwich.
By Elizabeth Bisland.

The Fourteen Miles Round.
By Alfred Bishop Mason and
Mary Murdock Mason.

King's College.
By John B. Pine.

The Bowery.
By Edward Ringwood Hewitt and
Mary Ashley Hewitt.

Governor's Island.
By Blanche Wilder Bellamy.

18 23 15
For Sale.

AN INTERESTING LOT. Barber and Howe's Historical Collections of New York; O'Reilly's History of Rochester, N. Y.; Captain Basil Hall's Travels in North America, 3 vols., with autograph letter inserted; the quarto volume of Views in North America, by Basil Hall. Together, 6 vols. Newly and uniformly bound in half morocco. \$35.00

CLARK (LEWIS H.). MILITARY HISTORY OF WAYNE COUNTY, N. Y. The County in the Civil War. 8vo, cloth, Sodus, N. Y., 1883. \$5.00

LAFAYETTE MEMOIRS. Correspondance et Manuscrits des General Lafayette, publies par sa Famille. 3 vols., 8vo, boards, Paris, 1837. \$4.50

MAHAN (CAPTAIN A. T.). The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire. 1793-1812. 2 vols., 8vo, cloth, illustrated, Boston, 1894. One set only. \$5.00

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION TO LOCATE THE SITE OF THE FRONTIER FORTS OF PENNSYLVANIA. 2 vols., 8vo, freely illustrated with finely colored maps of very great importance. Harrisburg, 1896. \$5.00

THE STONE SCULPTURES OF COPAN AND QUIRIGUA, drawn by Heinrich Meye. Historical and descriptive text by Dr. Julius Schmidt. Translated from the German by A. D. Savage. Royal folio, illustrated, New York, 1883. One copy only. \$6.00

*Any of the books above will be forwarded on receipt
of price by George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange
Street, Rochester, New York.*

AMERICAN
COLONIAL TRACTS
MONTHLY

NUMBER TWELVE

APRIL 1898

A PETITION OF W. C. EXHIBITED TO THE HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT NOW ASSEMBLED, FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES, AND FOR THE SETTLING OF OUR PLANTATIONS THERE; WHICH PETITION IS APPROVED BY SEVENTY ABLE ENGLISH DIVINES, ALSO BY MASTER ALEXANDER HENDERSON AND SOME OTHER WORTHY MINISTERS OF SCOTLAND. PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1641.

PRICE 25 CENTS

\$3.00 A YEAR

Published by
GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER

Foreign Agents GAY & BIRD London England

COLONIAL TRACTS, issued monthly, is designed to offer in convenient form and at a reasonable price some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America which have hitherto been inaccessible to the general public, although of so much importance to the historical student. Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year, in advance, may be ordered through any bookseller, from the publisher, George P. Humphrey, 25 Exchange Street, Rochester, N. Y., or Gay & Bird, 22 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W. C., England, agents for England and the Colonies. The number for May will contain "A Description of New England; or, The Observation and Discoveries of Captain John Smith (admiral of that country) in the North of America, in the year of our Lord 1614; with the success of six ships that went the next year, 1615; and the accidents that befell him among the French men of war; with the proof of the present benefit this country affords, whither this present year, 1616, eight voluntary ships are gone to make farther trial. London, 1616."

Volume one is completed with the number for April, 1898, which contains a very complete index, thus making the twelve numbers readily available for reference purposes.

The twelve numbers complete and uncut, in a binding of dark blue buckram, price four dollars.

Covers for binding can be furnished separately, if desired.

AMONG the many interesting numbers for 1898-9, we are able to announce the following:

Captain John Smith's New England's Trials; London, 1622.

Morton's New English Canaan, 1632.

Description of the Province of South Carolina, 1732.

Description of Georgia; London, 1741.

Several tracts on Virginia.

A
PETITION

OF W. C.

EXHIBITED TO THE HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT
NOW ASSEMBLED, FOR THE PROPAGATING OF
THE GOSPEL IN AMERICA AND THE WEST
INDIES, AND FOR THE SETTLING OF
OUR PLANTATIONS THERE.

Which Petition is Approved by Seventy
Able English Divines,

ALSO BY

MASTER ALEXANDER HENDERSON, AND SOME
OTHER WORTHY MINISTERS OF
SCOTLAND.

COLONIAL TRACTS

NO 12 APRIL 1898

COLONIAL TRACTS

Published by GEORGE P HUMPHREY
ROCHESTER N Y

VOL I COLONIAL TRACTS NO 12

TO THE MOST HIGH AND HONORABLE COURT OF PARLIAMENT, NOW ASSEMBLED, THE HUMBLE PETITION OF WILLIAM CASTELL, PARSON OF COURTENHALL IN NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, FOR THE PROPAGATING OF THE GOSPEL IN AMERICA.

IN all humble manner sheweth, unto your approved wisdoms, the great and general neglect of this kingdom, in not propagating the glorious Gospel in America, a main part of the world. Indeed, the undertaking of the work is, in the general, acknowledged pious and charitable ; but the small prosecution that hath hitherto been made of it, either by us or others, having as yet never been generally undertaken in pity to men's souls, but in hope to possess land of those infidels, or of gain by commerce, may well make this and all other Christian kingdoms confess they have been exceeding remiss in performing this so religious, so great, so necessary a work.

May it therefore please your wisdoms to give your petitioner leave to propose briefly, as the nature of a petition requireth, the more than ordinary piety and charity of the work, the evident necessity and benefit of undertaking, together with the easiness of effecting.

A greater expression of piety, your petitioner conceiveth, there cannot be than to make God known where he was never spoken nor thought of, to advance the scepter of Christ's kingdom. And now, again, to reduce those who at first were created after the image of God, from the manifest worship of devils, to acknowledge and adore the blessed Trinity in unity, to do this is to be happy instruments of effecting those often repeated promises of God, in making all nations blessed by the coming of Christ, and by sending his word to all lands ; it is to enlarge greatly the pale of the church, and to make those who were the most detestable synagogues of satan delightful temples of the Holy Ghost.

It was a high point of piety in the Queen of the South to come from the utmost parts of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon ; and so it was in Abraham, to leave his native country for the better and more free service of his God.

And certainly it will be esteemed no less in those who, either in their persons or purses, shall religiously endeavor to make millions of those silly, seduced Americans to hear, understand, and practice the mystery of godliness.

And as is the piety, such is the charity of the work, exceeding great, to no less than the immortal souls of innumerable men, who still sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, continually assaulted and devoured by the dragon, whose greatest delight is to bring others with himself into the same irrecoverable gulf of perdition. What those blind and spiritually distressed Americans are, we were, and so had continued had not apostolical men afforded greater charity unto us, *divisis orbe Britannis*, by long journeying and not without great hazard of their lives, than as yet hath been shewed by us unto them.

We are not indeed indued with such eminent extraordinary gifts as were the primitive Christians ; but yet if it be duly considered how fully and how purely God hath imparted his gospel unto this island, how miraculously he hath lately protected us from Spanish invasions and popish conspiracies, and how, at this time, we abound in shipping and all manner of provision for sea, it will be found that we, of all nations, are most for the work and most engaged to do it in due thankfulness to God.

Nor is the arm of the Lord shortened or his wonted bounty so restrained, but that undertaking the voyage principally for God's glory, and in compassion to men's souls, we may expect a more than an ordinary blessing from him, whose usual custom is to honor those that honor him, and most abundantly even in this life to recompence such religious undertakings.

The Spaniard boasteth much of what he hath already done in this kind, but their own authors report their unchristian behavior, especially their monstrous cruelties to be such, as they caused the infidels to detest the name of Christ. Your wisdoms may judge of the lion by his claw. In one of their islands called Hispaniola, of 200,000 men, as Benzo—in his Italian history—affirmeth, they had not left 150 souls. And Lipsius

justly complaineth that wheresoever they came they cut down men as they did corn without any compassion. And as for those that survived, they bought their lives at dear rates, for they put them to bear their carriages from place to place; and if they failed by the way, they either miserably dismembered or killed them outright. They lodged them like brute beasts under the planks of their ships, till their flesh rotted from their backs; and if any failed in the full performance of his daily task, he was sure to be whipped till his body distilled with gore blood, and then poured they in either molten pitch or scalding oil to supple them.

A very strange and unlikely way to work infidels unto the faith; neither yet could they, if they would, impart unto others the gospel in the truth and purity thereof, who have it not themselves, but very corruptly, accompanied with many idle, absurd, idolatrous inventions of their own, which are but as so many superstructures, wickedly oppressing if not utterly subverting the very foundations of Christianity.

And although some of the reformed religion, English, Scotch, French, and Dutch, have already taken up their habitations in those parts, yet hath their going thither as yet been to small purpose for the converting of those nations, either for that they have placed themselves but in the skirts of America, where there are but few natives, as those of New England, or else for want of able and conscionable ministers, as in Virginia, they themselves are become exceeding rude, more likely to turn heathen than to turn others to the Christian faith.

Besides, there is a little or no hope our plantations there should be of any long continuance, since here in England, for some years last past, they have been rather diversely hindered than any ways furthered, how and by whom your wisdoms either have or will shortly find out; but this is evident, that the proud, superstitious Spaniard, who hateth their religion and feareth their neighbors, will spare them no longer than, to his overswelling greatness, shall seem good. And in the judgment of most judicious travelers that way, they may, if they will, easily enough suppress and destroy all our other plantations, as they did of late that of Saint Christopher's; when they were no way provoked by us, they will now pretend they are, by a latter taking of Trinidad and the loss of more than

150 of their men there. At least they will be sure to be desperately assaulted, as was the isle of Providence, but the year last past.

Whence, your petitioner offereth unto your honorable considerations a third argument, drawn from mere necessity, that as you tender the happy proceeding of those as yet but weakly settled plantations, the liberties, livelihood, and lives of many thousands of our dear brethren and countrymen, and which is yet more, the prosperous progress of the gospel, you would be pleased to consult of such an able and speedy supply as may secure them against the now expected cruelty of the Spaniard.

To which needful supply the better and sooner to induce your wisdoms, your petitioner desireth your yet a little further patience, until he hath shewed some temporal benefits that are thereby like to accrue unto this kingdom, together with the easiness of effecting.

When a kingdom beginneth to be overburdened with a multitude of people, as England and Scotland now do, to have a convenient place where to send forth colonies is no small benefit. And such are the northeast and northwest parts of America, between the degrees of 25 and 45 of the north latitude, which at this time do even offer themselves unto us, to be protected by us against the known cruelty of the over-near approaching Spaniard.

A very large tract of ground containing spacious, healthful, pleasant, and fruitful countries, not only apt but already provided of all things necessary for man's sustentation, corn, grass, and wholesome cattle in good competency; but fish, fowl, fruits, and herbs in abundant variety.

If we should look no further than the south of Virginia, which is our own, we shall find there all manner of provision for life besides merchantable commodities, silk, vines, cotton, tobacco, deer-skins, goat-skins, rich fur, and beavers good store, timber, brass, iron, pitch, tar, rosin, and almost all things necessary for shipping, which if they shall be employed that way, they who are sent away may, with God's blessing, within short time, in due recompence of their setting forth, return this kingdom store of silver and gold, pearls, and precious stones; for undoubtedly, if there be not a general mistake in all authors who have written of these places, such treasure is

to be had, if not there, yet in places not far remote, where as yet the Spaniard hath nothing to do. And in case the Spaniard will be troublesome to our plantations, or shall, as it is generally conceived, be found an enemy to this kingdom, there is no way more likely to secure England than by having a strong navy there; hereby we may come to share, if not utterly to defeat him of that vast Indian treasure wherewith he setteth on fire so great a part of the Christian world, corrupteth many counselors of state, supporteth the papacy, and generally perplexeth all reformed churches.

Nor need any scrupulous query be made, whether we may not assault an enemy in any place, or not esteem them such as shall assault us in those places, where we have as much to do as they. The Spaniard claimeth indeed an interest little less than hereditary in almost all America and the West Indies, but it is but by virtue of the Pope's grant, which is nothing worth, as was long since determined by Queen Elizabeth and her counsel; so as for the Spaniard to debar us in the liberty of our plantations, or freedom of commerce in those spacious countries, were over-proudly to take upon him, and for us to permit it were overmuch to yield of our own right.

Especially when we may, as now we may, so easily help ourselves; for your petitioner conceiveth there is no great difficulty in the preparation here, or tediousness in the passage thither, or hazard when we come there. The preparation of men and shipping, in respect of the daily, happy, expected accord between us and the Scots, is, upon the matter, already made; and as for money, it is in the power of this honorable house to give sufficient, without any grievence or dislike of the commonwealth, who undoubtedly in the general will think nothing grievous which shall be concluded by your wisdoms, expedient to such a pious and charitable work.

And as for the passage, how can it be thought either tedious or dangerous, it being ordinarily but six weeks' sail, in a sea much more secure from pirates and much more free from shipwreck and enemies' coasts, than our ten or twelve months' voyage into the East Indies. And as for our good success there, we need not fear it, the natives being now everywhere more than ever, out of an inveterate hatred to the Spaniard, ready and glad to entertain us; our best friends, the Netherlanders,

being with eight and twenty ships gone before to assist and further us. And, which is much more, our going with a general consent in God's cause, for the promoting of the gospel and enlarging of His church, may assure us of a more than ordinary protection and direction. That hitherto we have been less successful in our voyage that way, we may justly impute it to this, that as yet they have not been undertaken with such a general consent and with such a full reference to God's glory as was requisite.

And so, your petitioner, having delivered his apprehension herein more briefly than so weighty a matter might well require, he submits all the premises to your more full deliberation and conclusion, which, he humbly prayeth, may be with all convenient speed the only best way under God to make it the better successful.

WE whose names are here underwritten, having been upon occasion acquainted with a motion intended to be made by Master William Castell, parson of Courtenhall in the county of Northampton, to the high and honorable court of Parliament, now assembled, concerning the propagation of the glorious gospel of Christ in America. As we do well approve of the motion, so we do humbly desire his reasons may be duly considered ; and so good a work furthered their wiser judgments may resolve upon, to which we humbly submit the same.

John Mosely,	D. D.	Ministers of LONDON :
Ra. Brownricke,	D. D.	
Thomas Bambrig,	D. D.	George Walker,
Robert Sanderson,	D. D.	James Palmer,
Richard Alleyne,	D. D.	Edward Marbury,
Daniel Featly,	D. D.	Joseph Caryll,
Mathias Styles,	D. D.	Edmond Calamy,
Edmond Stanton,	D. D.	Adoniram Byfield,
Stephen Denison,	D. D.	William Price,
Edw. Williamot,	D. D.	Richard Maden,
Jonathan Brown,	D. D.	James Batty,
Jasper Fisher,	D. D.	Math. Griffeth,
Hannibal Potter,	D. D.	Ephraim Paget,
Anthony Clapton,	D. D.	Robert Pory,
Thomas Drayton,	D. D.	William Janeway,
John Grant,	D. D.	Nathaniel Barry.

Ministers of several other counties :

John White,	Dorsetshire,
William Ford, }	Somersetshire,
John Payns, }	
Zachery Caudry,	Lestershire,
Henry Paynter,	Devonshire,
Stephen Marshall, }	Essex,
Samuel Joyner, }	
John Ward,	Suffolk,
Jer. Burroughes,	Northfolk,
John Rawlinson,	Darby,
Moses Capell, }	Kent,
William Rhet, }	
Francis Charliot,	Buck,
Richard Gifford, }	Herford.
William Englesby, }	

Other worthy ministers of the diocese of Peterborough,
where the petitioner liveth :

Daniel Caudery,	William Spencer,
Jeremy Whittaker,	Edmond James,
John Barry,	John Baynard,
James Cranford,	George Jay,
Samuel Craddock,	Francis Presse,
David Ensme,	John Guderick,
Edmond Castell,	Miles Berker,
Samuel Moyle,	Francis Atturbury,
Daniel Rogers,	Jeremy Stephens,
Benjamin Tomkins,	John Ward,
Richard Cooke,	Peter Fawtract,
Richard Trueman,	William Malkinson.
John Guderick,	

The motion made by Master William Castell, minister of the gospel, for propagating of the blessed evangel of Christ, our Lord and Saviour, in America, we conceive in the general to be most pious, Christian, and charitable, and therefore worthy to be seriously considered of all that love the glorious name of Christ and are zealous of the salvation of souls, which are without Christ and without God in the world, wishing the opportunity and fit season, the instruments and means, and all things necessary for the prosecution of so pious a work, to be considered by the wisdoms of churches and civil powers, whom God hath called and enabled with piety, prudence, and peace, for matters of public concernment, and of so great importance ; and beseeching the Lord to bless all their consultations and proceedings for the advancing and establishing the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

Alexander Henderson,
Robert Blare,
R. Baillie,
M. Gillaspie,
N. Smyth,
M. Borthrick.

FINIS.

A GUIDE IN THE WILDERNESS; or, the History of the First Settlement in the Western Counties of New York, with Useful Instructions to Future Settlers. In a series of letters addressed by JUDGE COOPER of COOPERS-TOWN to William Sampson, Barrister, of New York. Dublin: Printed by Gilbert & Hodges, 37 Dame Street; 1810.

Three hundred copies only of this very rare book have been printed, 1897, with an Introduction especially written for this new edition by James Fenimore Cooper of Albany, a great-grandson of Judge Cooper. Sent postpaid on receipt of the price, \$1.25, by the publisher, George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS DURING THE LATE WAR, under the command of COLONELS FENTON and CAMPBELL, giving an account of the crossing of the lake from Erie to Long Point; also the crossing of Niagara by the troops under Generals Gaines, Brown, Scott, and Porter. The taking of Fort Erie, the Battle of Chippewa, the imprisonment of Colonel Bull, Major Galloway, and the author (then a captain), and their treatment; together with an historical account of the Canadas. By SAMUEL WHITE. Baltimore, 1830. 12mo, boards, uncut. \$1.00

Three hundred copies only, 1896.

Just Published :

THE LIFE OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON. 1737-1832. With his Correspondence and Public Papers. By Kate Mason Rowland, author of "The Life of George Mason," etc. Fully illustrated. Two volumes, 8vo. New York, 1898. Per set, \$6.00 *net*.

The biography of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last of the Signers, has never before been fully written. It is believed that the publication of his letters and papers, with a detailed account of his public services, will be acceptable to all students of American history, and will enhance and substantiate the already high reputation of this pure and noble-minded statesman, the peer in character and intellect of any of the great Revolutionary leaders. Charles Carroll's life may be roughly divided into three periods; thirty years, mostly spent abroad, in preparation for the patriotic duties which awaited him; thirty years in the service of his state and country; thirty years in scholarly retirement, where, as a close and interested observer of public events, he remained in touch with the outside world even to the last months of his earthly career.

THE STATE OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE
JANUARY 1, 1903.
REPORT
OF THE
COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE
IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE SENATE
MAY 1, 1899.

ALBANY:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.,
PRINTERS.
1903.

F831.03

THE LAND OFFICE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
HAS THE HONOR TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT
OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE
LAND OFFICE, IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE SENATE MAY 1, 1899.
AND TO TRANSMIT THE SAME TO THE SENATE
FOR ITS CONSIDERATION.

THE LAND OFFICE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
HAS THE HONOR TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT
OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE
LAND OFFICE, IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE SENATE MAY 1, 1899.
AND TO TRANSMIT THE SAME TO THE SENATE
FOR ITS CONSIDERATION.

THE LAND OFFICE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
HAS THE HONOR TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT
OF THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE
LAND OFFICE, IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE SENATE MAY 1, 1899.
AND TO TRANSMIT THE SAME TO THE SENATE
FOR ITS CONSIDERATION.

